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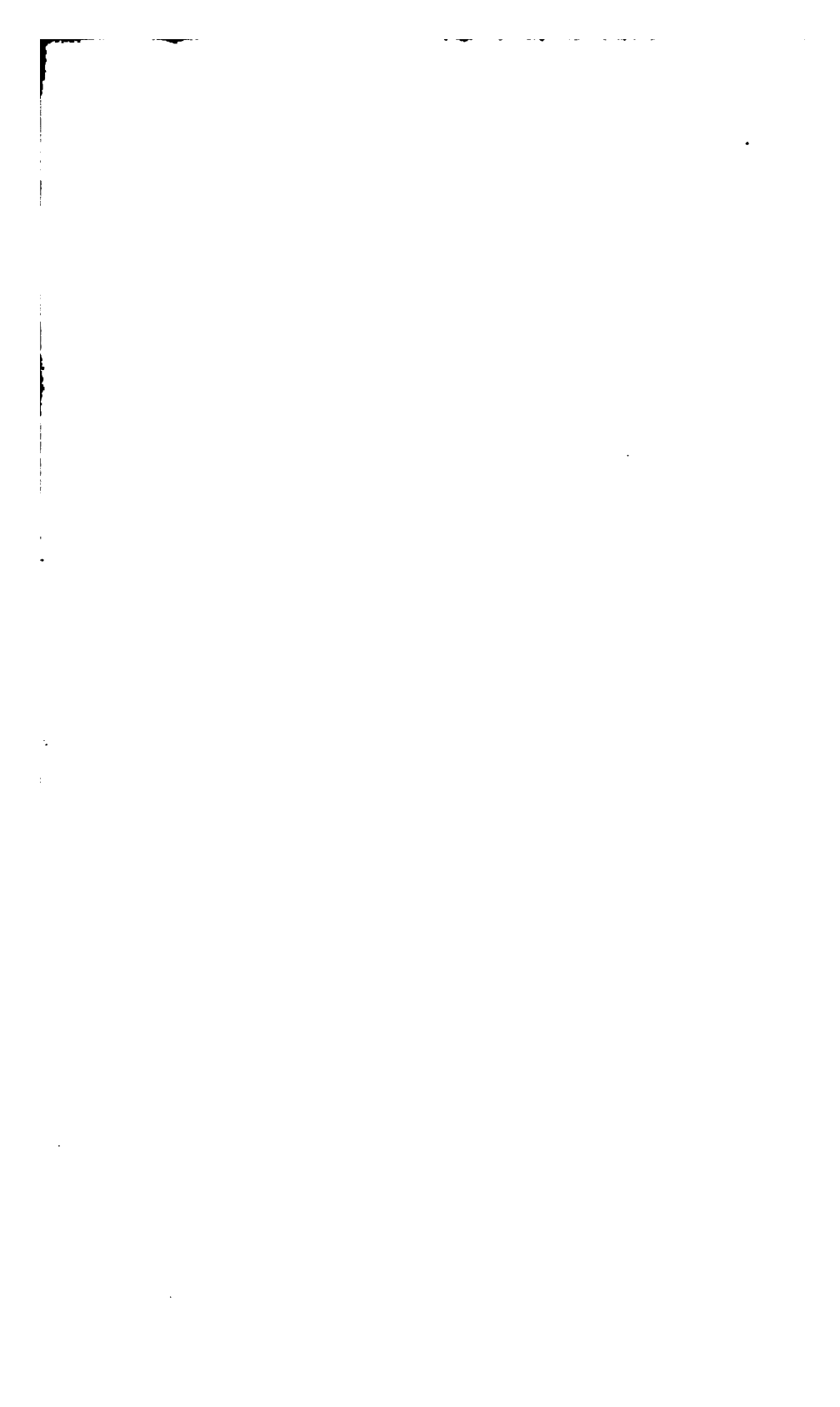
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John George Forbes

1847
R. Parker





THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
ECCLESIASTICAL,
POLITICAL,

LITERARY,
COMMERCIAL,
&c. &c.

FROM THE TIME OF
ITS CONQUEST BY CLOVIS, A.D. 486.

BY
The Rev. ALEXANDER RANKEN,
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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P R E F A C E.

IT is a reasonable curiosity which disposes men to inquire into the origin of nations; but it can seldom be gratified. The events which led to their formation, and attended their early progress, in a rude and dark age, pass unnoticed, or unrecorded. The purest traditions and fullest chronicles of the following ages are so imperfect, as to leave too much room for the errors of prejudice, and the fictions of fancy. Nor have we much reason to regret the obscurity which must consequently rest on these periods of history: we could derive neither much instruction nor entertainment from the desultory and wanton hostilities, and the perpetual and cruel ravages of barbarous tribes.

For this reason I have not attempted to carry the History of France farther back than the conquest of it by Clovis. That æra is the true origin of the French monarchy: the Franks before that time were German tribes, having no other sovereignty than over their own families, without any certain or settled territory, and almost without a certain name.

From the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, till its conquest by Clovis, the history of the Gauls belongs to the history of the Roman Empire, and could not with propriety, nor with success, be detached from it. I have only made such enquiries, and mentioned such facts, respecting the previous state of these, and of the other people who composed the French nation, as are calculated to make us somewhat acquainted with their origin, their numbers, their degree of civilization, and their general character and manners, about the æra at which the history of the French monarchy commences. Many of the facts, it is true, are remote from that æra: they do not, at such a distance, admit of any certain conclusion; yet they afford that degree of information which tends, even after so long an interval, to illustrate subjects which are important and interesting. We do not, for example, know the number of the people over the whole extent of Gaul at the time of Clovis, but we are able to reckon them with some degree of accuracy at the time of Julius Cæsar. The interval is about five hundred years; but there were no such wars, nor revolution of any kind, in Gaul, during all that time, as to give us reason for supposing that the number of the people ought to have been diminished. We are under the necessity of forming the same probable conclusion, from similar remote facts, respecting agriculture.

Many

PREFACE.

Many years have elapsed since I began my enquiries into French history, and to write essays on that subject. The plan which I preferred when I resolved to publish, required both that these essays should be considerably altered in their form, and that others more recently composed should be added : this will account for that variety which may appear in the style.

The plan was not suggested by Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain ; but in attempting to arrange the several essays afterwards, a similitude was observed ; and on farther deliberation I resolved to adopt his plan, and proceed in composing what was then wanting to complete it. I admire his work, and will be content if I shall be thought to have successfully imitated it.

The First Book therefore, which this Volume contains, is divided into Seven Chapters. The First Chapter is the history of civil and military Affairs ; the Second, is the history of Religion and of the Church ; the Third, is that of Laws and Government ; the Fourth, of Literature ; the Fifth, of the Arts ; the Sixth, of Commerce ; and the Seventh, of Language, Customs, and Manners.

In the execution of a plan so extensive, and requiring so much research and judgment, I am very sensible of much imperfection ; but

I beg leave to observe, that some deficiencies will appear which ought not to be imputed to the author, but to the want of materials in the original historians: many of the subjects treated in these chapters were scarcely at all regarded by them; nor indeed much even by more modern historians till later times. The plan of this history, though less capable of elegance, is obviously attended with many and important advantages: while it obliges the author to search with indefatigable industry for the materials suited to the subjects of the several chapters, and to separate and arrange them carefully, each according to its own kind, it enables the reader to prosecute any one of them without perplexity or interruption. The composition of such a history, however, must be attended with the more anxiety and labour, that the scene of it is a foreign country. The author cannot feel the same interest in many questions and facts, as a person to whom, from his infancy, they have been familiar: he must remain totally ignorant of some things which residence on the spot might suggest, which converse with literary Frenchmen, or which easy access to the repositories of French literature, might illustrate. If the success of this Volume shall encourage him to proceed, he requests the literary aid of all who have it in their power to furnish him with hints, with information, or with friendly correction, as far as it may yet be profitable.

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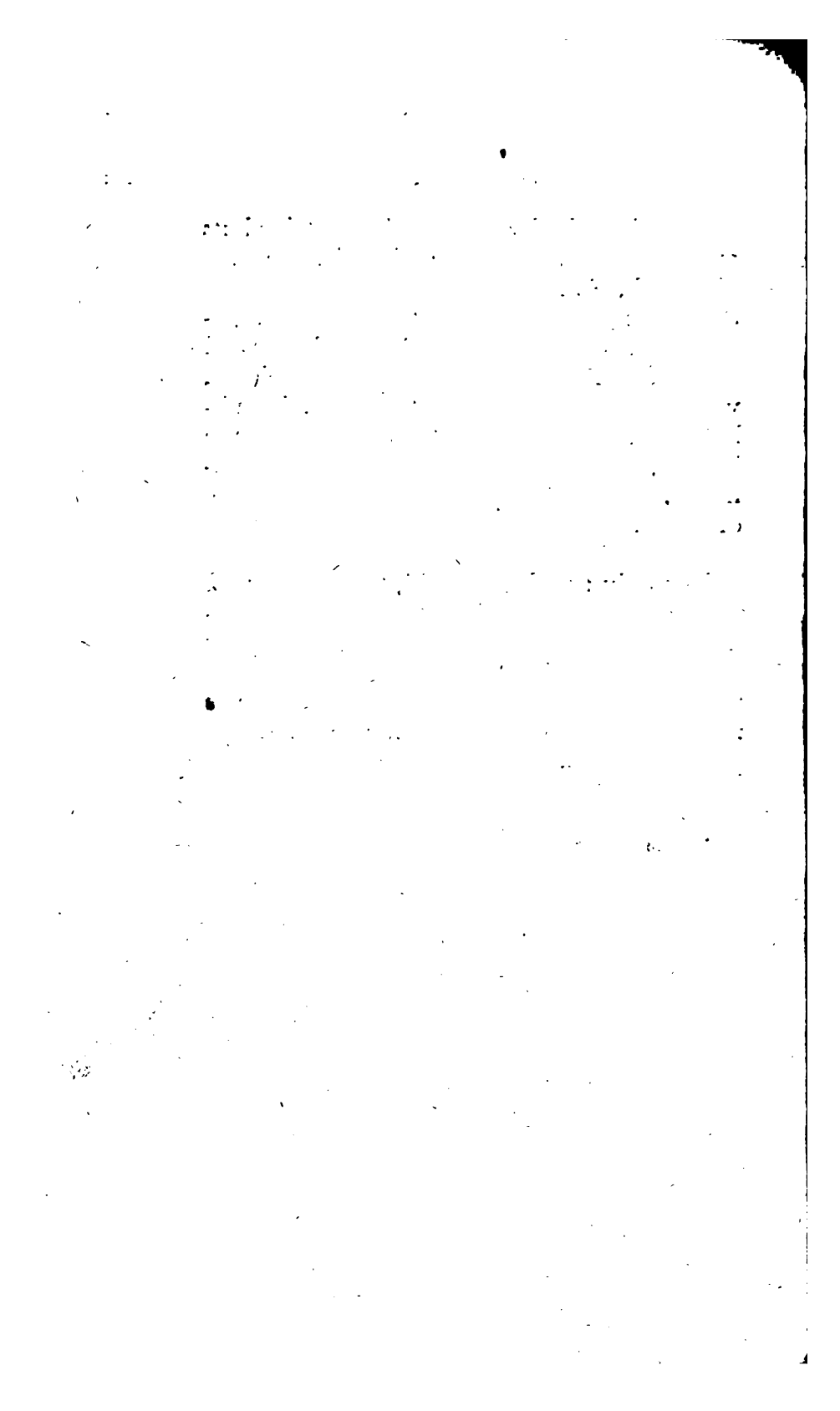
PREFACE.

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The French Empire having attained its greatest extent and power under Charlemagne, his death, A. D. 814, after which it began rapidly to decline, appears to be a proper period with which to conclude this Book and Volume. The Second Book and Volume, which is nearly ready for the press, if publication shall be encouraged, brings down the history, on the same plan, to the commencement of the third dynasty, or Capetian race of kings.

It is only necessary to add, that the utmost caution and fidelity have been used in examining every subject, and especially what seemed doubtful or controverted; and that throughout the whole work, due reference is made always to the original and most approved authors.

GLASGOW,
April 18th, 1801.



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ERRATA.

- Page 84, line 15, for Galswinda, *read* Andovera.
175, — 16, for ergulatcd, *read* regulatcd.
227, — 12, for coverlid, *read* coverlet.
269, — 8, for enacted, *read* exactcd.
332, — 10, for Vitiger, *read* Vitiges.
349, — 4, for hypothctially, *read* hypothctically.

F R A N C E.

BOOK I.

The History of France, from the Conquest of it by Clovis, A. D. 486, to the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

INTRODUCTION.

IT may be necessary, at the commencement of this history, to describe the theatre on which the affairs which we propose to record were transacted. A country like Gaul, so constantly agitated by ambition and wars, must have frequently changed its boundaries; and authors have differed in their representation of them, according to the subject, or period, of which they wrote. The Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, and the ocean, appear to be the natural limits of Gaul, in its largest extent; but it hath been included sometimes within the narrower confines of the Seine, (and even of the Loire,) the Rhone, the Garonne, and the ocean. Cæsar's division of it

Extent of
Gaul.

B

into

into three parts appears founded on the difference of the language spoken in each of them, and plainly excludes other three districts, viz. Helvetia, Armorica, (or Bretagne,) and the Provincia Rómána, (or Narbonensis,) of which he afterwards treats, and which undoubtedly, like other ancient historians, he meant to comprehend under the general name of Gaul. The whole country extended from the 42d nearly to the 51st degree of north latitude, and from about the 7th of west to the 6th of east longitude from Paris.

Climate.

The climate of a country so extensive must vary, not only according to its degrees of latitude, but according to its distance from the ocean, its plain or mountainous surface, the number and extent of its forests and marshes, and the progress which has been made in its agricultural improvement. The relative position and general features of ancient Gaul and modern France continue, as the globe itself, unchanged, and consequently their general temperature ought to be the same; but they are considerably different, in respect of the improvements which have been produced by human art and industry on the surface not only of that, but of neighbouring countries: many large marshes, both in Gaul and Germany, have been drained, and extensive forests cleared; less vapour therefore should be exhaled from them, and the atmosphere ought to be purer and milder now than it was in ancient times. The fact corresponds with this conclusion: the climate of France, contrary to the observation of both Cæsar and Tacitus, is now warmer than that of Britain. The Seine still freezes; but not in that extent and degree as described by Diodorus Siculus: "Gaul," says he, "is subject to severe frost and snow, which in
" winter

“ winter falls instead of rain ; and the waters of
 “ the largest rivers are so frozen, that over the
 “ ice, as a natural bridge, not only a few travel-
 “ lers, but whole armies, with all their baggage,
 “ and loaded waggons, may pass with safety.”

The Celtes, said to be descended from Gomer, ^{Native Gauls} were the original inhabitants of Gaul. The time and manner of their settlement, and their history in general till they were invaded and conquered by the Romans, are involved in much obscurity. The country is naturally fertile, and the climate temperate : their population was rapid ; and they repeatedly sent off powerful colonies to other countries in quest of settlements. They invaded Italy, threatened Greece, and actually settled a colony in that part of Phrygia, which from them received the name of Galatia and Gallo-græcia. Wherever they went, as colonists to settle, or as armies to support and defend their infant settlements, their arms were dreaded, and their very name became formidable. Opposed and provoked by the Romans in one of their expeditions in Italy, they turned their arms against Rome, and took and burnt that venerable city. So much were they dreaded, that the freedom from military service allowed by the Roman state to priests and old men in other wars, was denied them by law in the case of an invasion by the Gauls.

But the increased population and military spirit of the other nations afterwards confined them more within their own country. They learned to cultivate the soil, and provide fully for their wants, proportioned to the increase of population. Divided into many states, all ambitious of power, and each extremely jealous of its liberties and independence, they became agitated by internal discords and

hostilities. The Romans observed and fomented their jealousies and internal animosities, and finally conquered them, by policy rather than by force of arms¹.

Their warlike spirit was seldom excited or exercised after their conquest by the Romans: their manners were civilized and refined by general intercourse, by literature, and by the general influence of Christianity.

They became a very different people from what they had been when they sacked Rome. "Formerly," says Livy, "they routed our ancestors at the first onset; now," adds he, "at the distance of two hundred years, more triumphs are gained over the Gauls than over any other nation on earth. We know well that if we can sustain their first charge, which they make with enthusiasm and fury, the combat is almost over: their large relaxed bodies want vigour as soon as the passion which animated them is spent²."

"The time was," Cæsar observes, "when the Gauls were superior to the Germans; when their country was uncultivated, and foreign intercourse unknown. Now gradually accustomed to yield that superiority, overcome in almost every battle, they scarcely think themselves comparable to the Germans in valour³."

¹ *Hæ regiones precipuæ quæ confines Italicis, paulatim levi fudore sub imperium venere Romanum; nam omnes Gallias, nisi qua paludibus inviæ fuere, ut Sallustio docetur auctore, post decennalis belli mutuas clades subegit Cæsar, societatique nostræ fœderibus junxit eternis.*

Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xv. c. 12.

² *Lib. xxxviii. c. 37.*

³ *Cæsar. Comm. de Bello Gall. lib. vi.*

These causes will account sufficiently for the ease with which they were conquered by the comparatively small armies of Goths, Vandals, and Germans, who invaded them and settled in their country.

Gaul was first invaded by a Grecian colony so early as five centuries before the Christian æra. The Phocæans, a high-spirited people, preferred emigration to servitude, a voluntary exile to the yoke which Cyrus was imposing on Greece*. After various adventures and hardships they landed and settled at Marseilles. They built that city on a rocky shore, invited by the excellence of the harbour, in a spacious basin, surrounded with rocks in the form of an amphitheatre fronting the south. The city, Strabo observes, was handsome, and of a considerable size, governed by a council of six hundred men called Timuchi, chosen for life. Fifteen of them formed a council of state for immediate business, and three of the fifteen were invested with the executive power. None was capable of being chosen into this national council of Timuchi, unless he was the father of a family, and had descended from citizens of three generations. Their laws were few, simple, and always exposed to public view.

Grecian colony settle at Marseilles.

They were much harassed at first by the Gauls around them, and had to depend on importation for the means of their subsistence: but they gradually extended their territory, built fortified towns, and at last mingled freely with the native inhabitants. They taught those allied to them also to surround their towns with walls, and at the same

* Herodot. Clio, c. 162. Agathias, lib. i. ascribes the cause of their emigration, or rather the period of it, to Darius, son of Hytaspes.

time to trust in the authority of law more than in the force of arms, to cultivate their lands, and to plant and dress the vine and the olive; in a word, they produced so great a change on the country and people on both sides of the Rhone, "that it seemed," says the historian, "as if Gaul had been transported into Greece".

They had always cultivated a friendly intercourse with the Romans. When they were informed that Rome was taken and burnt by the Gauls, they testified their sorrow by a general mourning, and, both as individuals and as a community, contributed the amount of the sum with which the Romans had redeemed their city and obtained a peace from the Gauls. In token of their gratitude, and as a public and permanent memorial of their sense of such friendship, the Romans, by a solemn decree, conferred the right of Roman citizens on the inhabitants of Marseilles for ever, granted them the distinguished honour of sitting at public spectacles with the senate, and ratified a treaty with them of perpetual friendship⁵.

Thus they continued long a virtuous and a prosperous people. But they attached themselves in the civil war to Pompey: they offended Cæsar; they detained him with a long siege; and after they had capitulated and opened their gates, they took advantage of the supineness of his army, and of the suspension of hostilities, to strengthen their walls, and to renew the war. They were soon after however forced to surrender, and to deliver up their ships, arms, and treasure. Their lives and city only were spared, more (Cæsar himself observes) from a veneration of their name and anti-

⁵ Justin, lib. xxiii.

⁶ Justin, lib. xxiii.

quity, than from the propriety of their conduct towards him⁷. From this period their warlike spirit declined: they returned to their former intercourse with the Romans; and Marseilles, and the neighbouring cities dependent on, or in alliance with it and Rome, on both sides of the Rhone, became famous for their schools and trade, for the residence of the learned and the wealthy, and for the cultivation of all the necessary and elegant arts. They formed the *Provincia Romana*, and accommodated themselves so much in every thing to the Romans, that they gradually lost their native tongue and national character.

The population of Gaul, about the time of Cæsar's conquest of it, is a curious subject of inquiry: and is of importance in estimating its political value, and the facility with which it was afterwards invaded and conquered. It appears to have been greatly mistated both by ancient and modern writers, Mr. Hume, in his Essay on the Populoufness of Ancient Nations, supposes Belgium but a fourth part of Gaul, and its population but a million and a half; and hence concludes, that in the time of Julius Cæsar there were but six millions of people in all Gaul. He justly discredits the extravagant ideas of its population entertained by Appian and Diodorus Siculus, who together must be understood to reckon it not less than two hundred millions; and admits that Cæsar may be depended on more on this subject than any other ancient author. On the facts and principles therefore which Cæsar furnishes, we shall find that Gaul, in its largest extent and most common

Population
of Gaul.

⁷ De Bell. Civil. lib. i. 3. & ii. 20.

acceptation, contained not less, at the period referred to, than eighteen millions of inhabitants.

Helvetia.

In the muster-rolls which were found in the camp of the Helvetii, after Cæsar had defeated them near the confluence of the Rhone with the Arar, their fighting men, being to the whole inhabitants as one to four, were 92,000 = 368,000 souls⁸.

Belgium.

On due inquiry into the political strength of Belgium, Cæsar found that they intended to march three-fifths of their men able to bear arms; which, on summing the several quotas as he states them, we find amounted to three hundred and eight thousand. If we add the other two-fifths, and multiply the whole number of men able to bear arms by four, as in the case of the Helvetii, the whole inhabitants of Belgium will amount to 1,888,000⁹.

Armorica.

In the general insurrection of Gaul, it had been agreed not to levy all the men able to bear arms, but a certain proportion only, which appears to have been a tenth¹⁰. According to this rate, the whole people of the seven states of Armorica, as enumerated by Cæsar, and in the same proportion as one to four, amounted to 1,680,000.

Celtica.

The thirteen Celtic states, which he also enumerates¹¹, and in the same proportion, amounted to 6,720,000.

Aquitania.

Aquitania, south of the Garonne, consisted of eleven states, whose population, as we have no other means of reckoning, may be compared either with the Armorican states, or with those in their imme-

⁸ De Bello Gall. lib. i. c. 21.

⁹ Id. lib. ii. c. 4.

¹⁰ Compare the rate of the Bellovaci, lib. vii. c. 69. with their whole number, lib. ii. c. 4.

¹¹ Lib. vii. c. 69.

diate neighbourhood on the north of the Garonne, the Nitiobriges, or Cadurci¹². The lowest of these is five, and the highest is nine thousand; and as a tenth of their fighting men, we may take the medium seven thousand, which in the same proportion will give 3,080,000.

The Provincia Romana extended from the Garonne to the Var, and from Vienne to the Mediterranean sea. It was fertile, and in the highest state of cultivation. Beside native Gauls, it contained the Grecian colony, and a considerable influx of Romans, who resorted thither for the sake of literature, of retirement from the bustle of Italian politics, and generally for the enjoyment of health and of polite society in one of the most temperate and then agreeable climates in the world. Narbonne, Arles, Marseilles, and Vienne, even at that time were thriving and populous cities. The territory was not so extensive probably as Celtic Gaul, but the population must have been greater in proportion; reckoning it however somewhat less, we may state it at 6,000,000.

All these together make the inhabitants of Gaul amount nearly to twenty millions; but I will reckon them only eighteen millions, which allows a large deduction from any of the provinces whose numbers, being destitute of facts, I have stated from analogy.

From the age of Julius Cæsar, till the empire, relaxed and incapable of any longer sustaining its own weight, yielded to the pressure and violence of barbarians, Gaul submitted without much apparent reluctance to the Roman government; twelve hundred soldiers only supplied its garrisons¹³;

¹² Lib. vii. c. 69.

¹³ Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. c. 16.

tribute

tribute was paid to Roman tax-gatherers ; Roman laws were administered ; and Roman magistrates presided in the courts of justice ¹⁴. Long unaccustomed to arms, the Gauls became unwarlike ; and even when they were sensible of the paralyzed and feeble state of the empire, and had ceased to respect its authority or to hope for its protection, they wanted spirit and energy to resist the common foe, and fell an easy conquest to those northern tribes which overran the Roman empire.

The Visigoths.

The Goths, whose origin has been involved in some obscurity, appear to have come from the shores of the Baltic and Euxine seas. Various causes might unite the nations of both the northern and southern coasts of the Baltic in a general confederacy to invade a more favourable climate and a more fertile country ; or without any deliberate combination, the energy and motion of a part of them might give an impulse to the whole, and raise them as a tide along the great rivers, and spread them over the extensive regions of Europe. It is unnecessary here to trace their various marches, their settlement on the Danube, their vast population, their influence on the other tribes with whom they mingled, their naval force on the Euxine, their frequent and severe engagements there with the Romans, and, at last, their successful invasion of Italy, of Spain, and of Gaul ¹⁵. From their relative situation, originally as well as finally, those of them who settled in Italy were called Ostro-Goths, or East-Goths, and those who settled in Spain and Gaul were called Visi-Goths, or West-Goths. Constantius the pa-

¹⁴ Hist. c. 3.

¹⁵ Jornandes de Reb. Get. cap. 4. & seq.

trician

trician having received signal aid from Vallia, king of the Visigoths, in subduing the Vandals in Spain, by appointment of the emperor Honorius conferred on him the territory of the second Aquitain, with some cities of the neighbouring provinces. Euric, the fourth king of the Visigoths after Vallia, conquered Spain, and added it, with Arles and Marseilles, to his former dominions¹⁶. Observing the unsettled and weak state of the empire, and that the people of Gaul shewed no disposition to make a vigorous resistance, he proposed to advance farther beyond the Loire, and subject the whole country to his power. Twelve thousand Bretons were opposed to him by the emperor Anthemius; but he defeated them with great slaughter, and drove the remainder of their army into the neighbouring kingdom of Burgundy. Euric, probably checked by the Burgundians then in alliance with the Romans, added the city of Auvergne only to the territory formerly occupied by him; and the Goths seem to have remained nearly in this situation till they were conquered by Clovis¹⁷.

The number of Goths who thus settled in Gaul was probably not more than thirty thousand fighting men. They had been much reduced by perpetual war: a great body of them remained in Spain. The historian Jornandes calls it an innumerable army which twelve thousand Bretons opposed, and opposed obstinately, though they were defeated; for he adds, that they fought long. More than thirty thousand was unnecessary even to conquer the whole country; for, in the reign of

¹⁶ Isidori Chron. æra 454. 504.

¹⁷ Jornandes de Reb. Get. c. 45.

Theodosius,

Theodosius, twenty thousand Goths were employed with success by that emperor, to recover Gaul from the usurpation of Eugenius. On the whole, if we include the people who followed the army always with a view to settle in the conquered country, we may reasonably suppose that the total number of Goths who settled in Gaul did not exceed one hundred thousand souls.

The Burgundians.

The Burgundians, originally a Vandal tribe, appear to have settled some time between the Vistula and the Oder, where the duchy of Silesia now joins Upper Saxony. Under the emperor Probus, whether moved by their own ambition, or urged by the progress of the Goths, they advanced circuitously towards the Rhine, and settled some time again in the territory of the Chatti, betwixt the Elbe and the Weser; or near the Alemanni, towards the Mein¹⁸. Thence pressed by the Huns, during the reigns of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. they crossed the Rhine, and about A. D. 424, occupied that region of Gaul which still retains their name.

They are said to have amounted to eighty thousand before they crossed the Rhine, which number seems to have included their wives and children: and the same author adds, that they were invited by the Romans, or Gauls, into the country bordering on Lyons¹⁹. But we are also informed that, originally numerous and powerful, they were reduced to about three thousand fighting men before they were able to settle in Gaul²⁰. They had again

¹⁸ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xviii. & xxviii. Procop. Goth. lib. i. c. 12. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 36.

¹⁹ Anonym. in Collect. Hist. Canisii ex Idacio, vol. ii. lib. ii. c. 46.

²⁰ Socratis Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. c. 30.

become

become powerful before the invasion and conquest of Gaul by Clovis, for they were able to resist him, and to endure several well-fought and bloody battles with his Franks.

From whatever quarter the Franks originally The Franks. came, they had settled at least so long in Germany as to have acquired German customs and manners, and to afford historians good reason for considering them as Germans. They were most probably composed of several different tribes, chiefly in the north-west of Germany, who united occasionally in defence of their liberty against the Roman power, and finally employed that confederacy in subjecting to their dominion all that remained in Gaul of the Roman empire ²¹.

The number of the Franks who invaded Gaul under Clovis has been reckoned so low as three thousand, because that is the number of those who were afterwards baptised with him; and all his army is said to have been baptised. Rhanacaire however, we know, and most probably all his troops, would not submit to that religious ordinance. Supposing that twenty thousand, with their families as usual, had left Germany, they might be reduced by repeated and severe engagements, and in the course of ten years, to five or six thousand fighting men ²². This number might appear inadequate to the effects which they produced, to the defeat of Syagrius, and to the subjugation of a

²¹ The origin and history of the Franks, before they invaded and conquered Gaul, has been investigated by Hotman, in ch. 4. & 5. of his *Franco-Gallia*; by Pere Daniel, in his Preface to his *History*; by M. Vertot, tome ii. *Mem. de l'Acad.*; and by M. Freret, *Mem. de l'Acad.* tome xviii.

²² "Hæc enim est gens," says the preface to the Salic Law, "quæ dum esset parva numero, fortis viribus, Romanorum jugum excussit," &c.

great portion of Gaul, had we not several other examples of a similar kind in that very country, and recently before that period, besides other evidence, to shew the facility with which conquests were made in those ages in Gaul. It may be objected, that the army of Clovis is sometimes represented afterwards as very numerous; and particularly, in his defeat at Arles, thirty thousand are said to have been slain. The answer seems obvious, that after his power was established, his army might be recruited, and greatly augmented both with Germans and native Gauls.

CHAP. I.

The History of France, from Clovis, A.D. 486,
to the Death of Charlemagne, A.D. 814.

SECT. I.

*The History of France under Clovis, from A.D. 486
to A.D. 511.*

THE ancient Franks are occasionally mentioned, after the middle of the third century, as the auxiliaries, or as the rude invaders of the Roman empire¹. Their incursions were often checked, and their depredations severely chastised; yet they continued for more than a century, as often as a favourable opportunity occurred, to harass the Roman allies, and to ravage their territories. The decline of the Roman power encouraged their ambition, and tempted them to extend farther and more frequently their predatory marches beyond the Rhine.

Pharamond appears to have been the first of their chieftains who received the permanent title of king in Germany. The commencement of his reign is placed about the 420th year of the Christian æra². Clodio, Merovee, and Childeric succeeded him: but it seems proved that none of

A. D. 420.
Pharamond.

¹ Sidon. Apollin.; Gregory of Tours, &c. &c.

² Prosper's Chronicle fixes this æra; yet it remains somewhat doubtful. See the subject treated fully in the 1st vol. of the Mem. of the Royal Acad. p. 229.

these

A. D. 420.

these ever enjoyed any stable possession in Gaul³. Clovis, who is said to have been the grandson of Merovee, and the son and successor of Childeric by a Thuringian queen, was certainly the founder of the French empire.

State of
Europe.

Zeno was then emperor of the east. His vices and general conduct rendered him despicable. His administration was feeble, and disturbed by frequent conspiracies. The barbarians invaded him on every side, and threatened even to besiege his capital.

A. D. 476.
The Heruli.

The Heruli, A. D. 476, presuming on the services which they had performed for the empire, demanded a third part of Italy as their reward. They took possession of it all, and proclaimed Odoacer their king: but they enjoyed that rich and beautiful country little more than twelve years, when in their turn they were forced to yield it to the Ostrogoths. Under Theodoric their king, Italy enjoyed a peace and happiness which it had seldom experienced before: having obtained a country and a kingdom equal to his ambition, he preferred the arts of peace, the mild administration of justice, and the general prosperity of his people, to scenes of bloodshed and the tumults and miseries of war.

The Ostro-
goths.Burgun-
dians.

The Burgundians having invaded Transalpine Gaul, extended their dominions on both sides of the Rhone. But their power was weakened by internal divisions: Gondebaud and Gondegesile had waded through the blood of their own brothers towards the throne, and were now both claiming the general sovereignty.

The Visi-
goths.

Next to Burgundy, westward, was the kingdom of the Visigoths, reaching from the Loire to the

³ Preface Historique du Pere Daniel.

Pyrenees, and from the mouth of the Rhone to the ocean. Alaric was their king, a youth mild and unambitious. A. D. 486.

From the Loire northward to the sea, and from Brittany eastward to the Rhine, was all that remained of the Roman empire in Gaul. Syagrius was governor of that province, and seemed, at so great a distance from the seat of a declining empire, to enjoy it as an independent sovereignty. Roman province.

Such was the state of Europe about the year 486, when Clovis, king of the Franks, passed the Rhine with a formidable army against Syagrius. He was only in the twentieth year of his age, but possessed genius and habits which qualified him for so bold and extensive an enterprise. He had acquired all that ferocity which characterized the age and country in which he lived. His mind was capable not only of forming extensive plans, but of executing them with uncommon skill and perseverance. Firm in his purposes, and fertile in his expedients, he was equally patient in waiting, and prompt in seizing the proper season of action to accomplish his end. Clovis, A. D. 486.

The number of his army is not recorded; it has been conjectured to have amounted to twenty or thirty thousand fighting men, besides women and children: their former successes, and the nature of this enterprise, would no doubt encourage many cheerfully to follow this young and valiant leader to certain victory and glory. Their habits were warlike, their business was fighting, and their property was spoil.

The Gauls of the Roman province, on the other hand, had little occasion to maintain the habits and discipline of war. Even after the legions had been withdrawn, the respectability of the Roman name still overawed the neighbouring

A.D. 486.

states, and the people readily submitted to that power which, since the days of Cæsar, they had but feebly resisted.

They had acquired, at the same time, that unaccountable spirit of novelty, which, in some periods of the world, regardless of consequences, ever pants for change. They were not ignorant of the decline of the Roman empire, and were ready to contrast with its tottering fabric and antique institutions, the bold though rude systems, as well as the independence and simplicity, of the new tribes around them. Many of them, therefore, were not averse from such a political revolution as might free them from the Roman yoke, and afford them hopes of acquiring a greater share of personal and civil liberty.

The great forest of Ardennes occupied almost all that country which lies between the Rhine and the Somme, and stretches from Treves to Chalons on the Marne. Having secured the city of Cologne, where he appears to have passed the Rhine, Clovis continued his march, under cover of that forest, towards Soissons, the usual residence of the Roman governor in Gaul.

Battle of
Soissons.

Syagrius having received intelligence of the design and march of Clovis, assembled his troops; still animated with Roman pride, and rashly despising the Franks as barbarians, he considered not the danger of hazarding a battle in the heart of his dominions with an enemy determined to perish or conquer. Soissons was the immediate subject of contention. By getting possession of that city, Clovis expected, that he should not only find in it sufficient plunder to gratify his troops, but as it was the only well-fortified place, he hoped, by securing it, to lay open the whole country to his victorious

victorious army. For these reasons it was the duty A. D. 486. as well as the interest of Syagrius to exert himself to defend it. Both armies, therefore, prepared for battle. Clovis distinguished himself equally by his ardour and his prudence. In every place, and attentive to every step, he was so dispassionate and cool as to observe, without immediate resentment, the treachery of his kinsman Cararic, who was preparing to desert him: and so animated his men, and pressed the enemy with such vigour, that they at last gave way, and were nearly all destroyed. Syagrius, defeated and almost alone, fled for refuge to Thoulouse, the court of Alaric.

Soissons immediately opened its gates, and Clovis having taken possession of the city, proceeded without delay, while the impression of his victory remained, to reduce under his dominion the whole country held by Syagrius betwixt the Rhine and the Loire.

A country so rich and extensive, which had been so long desired and so often attempted, highly gratified the Franks, who gave up all thoughts of returning to the marshes of Germany; and determined to maintain and secure the possession of their acquisitions in Gaul*, which from them now first received the name of France.

The Franks appear to have mixed easily with the former inhabitants, scarcely treating them as subjects. We have no certain information respecting the share of lands which was claimed from them, or the degree of subjection to which they were reduced; whence we may infer that the claim of the Franks was less exorbitant than that of the other conquerors around them, as it occasioned no serious dispute or difficulty among them. The laws of the

* Greg. Tur. lib. ii. c. 27.

A. D. 486. Ostrogoths, Burgundians, and Visigoths, shew that they had assumed respectively two-thirds of the lands which they had conquered. The Franks, averse from agriculture, and comparatively but a small body, it is probable were easily satisfied; and it is certain that they treated their new subjects with great mildness, and much more favourably than the Romans had done; they levied no taxes, having no expensive administration to support².

Death of
Syagrius.

Clovis considered his dominion as both incomplete and insecure while Syagrius lived. Having learned his route, therefore, he sent to Alaric to demand the Roman general, or, in case of refusal, to denounce war against the Visigoths. A conduct so determined, in a leader so successful, intimidated the court of Alaric, and decided the fate of Syagrius, whose death completed the fall of the Roman empire in the west, and confirmed Clovis and his Franks in the secure possession of all the north and west of Gaul from the Rhine to the Loire.

The vessel
of Rheims.

Gregory, bishop of Tours, who is almost the only historian of this period, does not abound in many facts which can tend to illustrate the spirit or policy of the times. There is one circumstance, however, which shews the anxiety of Clovis to cultivate the favour of the Christian clergy, his general influence over his army, his occasional caution, and his ferocious mode of discipline.

Among the plunder his soldiers had collected, and which was to be divided, as usual, by lot, among the army, there was a sacred vessel of peculiar grandeur and beauty, which had been taken

² *Omnem Galliam in provinciæ formam redegit, eique quadringenties in singulos annos stipendii nomine imposuit.* Sueton. in Jul. 15. See also Heineccii Append. l. i. 114.

from

from the church of Rheims. The bishop Remigius having expressed great concern for the loss of this vessel, Clovis requested that it should be included in his share of the booty, in order that he might have it in his power to restore it. The whole army consented cheerfully, except one soldier; who raising his franesque or battle-axe, struck the vessel, telling his leader, that he should have nothing more than fell to his share by lot. At that moment Clovis prudently checked his resentment, and taking the vessel, politely restored it to the church. A year afterwards, at a general review, when his authority was become less precarious, he designedly observed, that the arms of that insolent soldier were ill kept; and taking his franesque to examine it, he threw it to the ground, and, while the soldier was stooping to recover it, struck him mortally on the head, saying, "Thus you struck the vessel at Soissons."

A. D. 486

During ten years, Clovis seems to have occupied ^{Laws} himself chiefly in regulating and establishing his new kingdom, and particularly in revising and improving the Salic and Ripuary laws, so as to accommodate them to his present situation⁵. He required from the Gauls, as well as from his own countrymen, a general conformity to those laws: at the same time, with a liberality and political sagacity scarcely to have been expected from so young and rude a conqueror, he permitted the Gauls to retain their former laws and customs, in so far as they did not interfere with his general policy, and provided that once for all they notified before witnesses their desire and purpose to use this liberty.

⁵ Pere Daniel supposes these laws altogether the work of Clovis. The perusal of them will shew that they bear internal marks of an earlier origin.

A. D. 486.

Success of
Clovis in
Thuringia.

At the end of ten years his authority and kingdom were so firmly established, that he had no hesitation to undertake an expedition to his original country, on the east of the Rhine.

The king of Thuringia thinking he might occupy the country bordering on the Lower Rhine, which so many of the Franks had abandoned for Gaul, or animated merely with the desire of plunder, and the savage spirit of war and cruelty, invaded the native territories of the Franks with unspeakable wantonness and barbarity. Messengers were dispatched to implore the return and protection of Clovis; who quickly assembled his army, repassed the Rhine, fought the Thuringians, and subdued them. This expedition raised his character, great as it was before, to a still higher degree of eminence, both in the estimation of his own subjects, and in that of the neighbouring nations. They dreaded his displeasure, and universally courted his favour.

His marriage.

His marriage, which shows his influence in the neighbouring states, and the customs of the times, contributed greatly to the increase of his political power. He was now thirty years of age, and his ambassadors at the court of Gondebaud in Burgundy, charmed with the beauty and virtue of Clotildis, that king's niece, described her in such terms to Clovis, as fixed his resolution to demand her in marriage; and with this view he sent Aurelian, his special ambassador, to negotiate the match.

Nothing could be more adverse to the inclinations or interests of Gondebaud. He had murdered his brother Chilperic, the father of Clotildis, caused her mother to be drowned, and had seized their extensive territories and treasures. What could he expect from her but vengeance; if ever she should have it in her power to resent their murder,

murder, and recover their property? A refusal, on the other hand, he knew must rouse the indignation of Clovis. A. D. 486.

He dissembled his fears therefore, and urged every argument which he thought might reasonably prove effectual to prevent the marriage. After various delays, he represented to Aurelian, that Clotildis was not only a Christian, but pious and steadfast in her principles; that certainly she would not marry Clovis, who was a Pagan; and that, for his part, he would by no means force her consent.

Aurelian had obtained an interview with Clotildis: he knew from her own mouth, that she had no objection, and that she was even apprehensive lest the match might, by any farther delay, be entirely broken off. He was satisfied, therefore, that no time was to be lost; and told Gondebaud, that Clovis was a prince too high spirited and powerful to suffer an affront with impunity, and that he must instantly either consent to the marriage or prepare for war.

This proved effectual. Gondebaud consented. The princess was betrothed to Clovis; and on her departure received a great sum of money from her uncle as her dowry. But she was no sooner gone, than he repented, and sent horsemen after her, who overtook and seized her carriage and treasure: Aurelian, perceiving the danger, had got the princess on horseback, and riding with full speed, soon reached in safety the frontiers of France. Clovis received her with an affectionate welcome at Soissons, and married her, amidst the universal approbation and rejoicings of the people.

⁶ Fredegarius, c. 18, 19. His chronicle, which is continued by others, extends from A. D. 584. to A. D. 765. Some difficulties respecting it are obviated, vol. i. p. 302. Mem. of the Acad. &c.

A. D. 493.

A Christian queen was peculiarly acceptable to the great body of the people, who had already been converted to Christianity. They hoped, by her means, to enjoy more religious liberty and prosperity, and that she might even prevail on the king to adopt Christianity. In this they were not disappointed: her conversation, temper, and conduct, gave her religion an interest in his mind. Even the death of his first-born, Ingomer, in consequence of an illness supposed to be occasioned at his baptism, which might have been construed against Christianity by a weaker and more superstitious mind, did not prevent him from listening to the favourable representations which were made to him of the gospel of Christ.

Victory of
Zulpiac.

Thus prepared, some signal event only was requisite to produce and justify a public avowal of the king's conversion; and such an event soon occurred by the invasion of the Allemans. They occupied that large tract of country which extends from the Moselle to the Elbe, and from the Maine to the Danube. They beheld with envy the success and superior advantages of the Franks in Gaul, and flattered themselves with the hope of being able to dispossess them of a part, at least, of their dominions. Marching northwards, they had passed the Rhine near Cologne, intending, as the Franks had done, to conceal their route through the Ardennes forest. Informed of their progress, Clovis presented himself with his army to oppose them at Tolbiac, or Zulpiac, a few leagues south of Cologne. The attack soon became general; and Clovis, seeing his army falling into disorder, remembered the assurances of Clotildis, that the God whom she served is everywhere present and almighty; the occasion too seemed favourable for making an impression on his army. "O God of Clotildis!"

"Clotildis!" he cried, "if you will now interpose, and grant me this victory, I will renounce idolatry for ever, and be a Christian."

A. D. 496.

His troops caught the spirit with which their general wished to animate them; their courage revived, and, returning to the charge, they successfully resisted and overpowered the enemy. By this victory he gained all the country betwixt Mentz and Basle, east of the Moselle.

On his return he remembered his vow, and was disposed to take advantage of the success which had followed, in order to fulfil it. His general prudence and valour, his uniform prosperity, and particularly his late victory, had acquired and secured to him great influence and authority. His army, who so often saw and admired the wisdom and advantages of his conduct, were willing to believe that every thing which he did, or commanded them to do, was right. Besides, the Franks had now lived about ten years among the Gauls, and were so far accustomed to Christianity, through an intercourse with them, as in a great measure to remove their first prejudices against it. Yet, in a matter of so great moment as a religious revolution, he judged it necessary to proceed with caution. He assembled, therefore, his people, put them in mind of his vow, and stated his purpose now to fulfil it. They approved: he was accordingly baptised; and a great part of his people, to the number of three thousand, followed his example.

His baptism.

Rhanacaire, his relation, appears to have been the only chief who seriously objected to this general conversion. Clovis permitted him to retire

"Sed restat unum, quod populus qui sequitur me non patitur relinquere Deos suos, sed vado & loquor eis." Greg. Tur. lib. ii. c. 3.

beyond

A. D. 496.

beyond the Somme to Cambray, where, being joined by a considerable number of other malcontents, he established an independent sovereignty. But this inconsiderable revolt was far more than compensated by the advantages arising from the conversion of Clovis and his faithful Franks.

Rise and
progress of
Arianism.

The Christian world had been agitated and rent nearly two centuries by the Arian controversy. Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, having asserted in an assembly of the presbyters of that city, that the son was not only of the same eminence and dignity, but also of the same essence with the father, he was zealously opposed by Arius, one of the presbyters. Whether zeal for his own opinion, or personal resentment against his bishop, was the motive which influenced his conduct on this occasion, is uncertain; but he first endeavoured to refute the bishop's opinion, as resembling Sabelianism, lately condemned by the church, and then running to the opposite extreme, maintained that the son was only the first and noblest of those beings whom God had created out of nothing, and the instrument by whose subordinate operation the Almighty had framed the universe. This opinion, though unscriptural, was readily received in different quarters of the world; and the council of Nice, A. D. 325, condemned it as impious. Arius was banished, and his disciples were persecuted. He was recalled, and in the council of Tyre, A. D. 335, his party triumphed over their opponents. Both parties were alternately favoured and persecuted by successive emperors, till the severity of Theodosius the Great subjected the Arians to extreme suffering. Oppressed by Imperial edicts, they took refuge among the fierce and rude invaders of the western empire; and hence Arianism became the prevalent system of Christian

theology among the Ostrogoths, Burgundians, and Visigoths. Its success and security among these nations animated them with new courage and zeal against the Catholics, who professed their faith in the Nicene doctrine *.

A. D. 496

The conversion of the Franks, on the other hand, proved a great accession to the Catholics. Pope Anastasius, highly gratified by such an event, wrote a letter of congratulation to Clovis on the occasion, complimenting him as the most Christian king, a title which became afterwards, under Lewis XI. attached to the crown.

Congratulation of Pope Anastasius.

The Arboriques, a considerable independent state betwixt the Scheldt and the Meuse, originally allied to the Franks, now shewed the disposition natural to the weak, to associate with the strong and the prosperous. Being Catholics, the conversion of the Franks formed a new bond of association; and Clovis offering them his protection and friendship, they yielded to his sovereignty.

Submission of the Arboriques.

Their submission was followed by that of all the castles and garrisons, with their dependencies, which had hitherto attached themselves to the Romans, but now despaired of any further support. Thus the country extending from the mouth of the Rhine upwards on both sides to Strasburgh, and thence westward to Brittany and the German ocean, formed the kingdom of France ¹⁰.

Though the chief part of the Burgundians were Arians, a considerable number of them were Catholics; who beheld the subjects of Clovis with

* Mosheim, cent. 4th and 5th, part ii. ch. 5.

¹⁰ The difficulty of ascertaining the limits of France, and of its internal distribution during this and the following reigns, is acknowledged and shown by Mr. de Foncemagne, vol. viii. p. 505, and particularly p. 524. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions.

A. D. 496.

envy, and secretly invited him to extend his dominion over them; while the jealousy and contention of their own princes at once encouraged their desire and his ambition.

Gundivic having left his kingdom among his four sons, the two youngest, Chilperic and Gondomar, attempted by force to exclude their two elder brothers, Gondebaud and Gondegesile. They actually defeated them, and had reason to believe that Gondebaud, their most formidable rival, was killed. He took advantage of this report to conceal himself for a short time, till a favourable opportunity should occur, to plan his attack, and secretly to levy war. All being ready, he marched against them unexpectedly, took Vienne the capital by surprise, beheaded Chilperic and his two sons, and hanging a large stone about the neck of the queen, mother of Clotildis, threw her into the Rhone. Gondomar chose rather to perish in the flames of a tower, where he had taken refuge, than to surrender himself to the vengeance of his brother. Having by these means acquired the whole kingdom, Gondebaud granted a small share of it to his only surviving brother Gondegesile. The latter, dissatisfied with the unjust superiority and usurpation of the former, entered into a secret correspondence and treaty with Clovis, and offered to become tributary to him, if he would assist him in conquering Burgundy from his brother.

Nothing could be more agreeable to the ambitious and enterprising spirit of Clovis: he now began to entertain the hope of gradually obtaining the dominion of all Gaul; and freely allowed other motives to influence his mind. He considered this a favourable opportunity of avenging the death of his father and mother-in-law, and of their sons; of
resenting

representing the affront offered to Clotildis, on her way home, as his bride, and of recovering her dowry.

A. D. 496.

The revolt of the citizens of Verdun afforded him a pretext for assembling his troops, without discovering his principal aim. The readiness with which, at their entreaty, he pardoned their revolt, gave a fresh lustre to his character; and the Christians of the Arian states loudly applauded the comparative mildness of his government.

Gondebaud at last perceived the design of the French armament, but was still ignorant of his brother's treachery. He sent, therefore, to warn him of the necessity of suspending, for the present, their own differences, till, with joint forces, they should have resisted and repelled their common enemy.

Gondegefile received the ambassadors graciously, feigned a readiness to enter into his brother's views without delay, joined him with his quota of troops, and both brothers marched at the head of the united army to the field of battle.

Clovis met them near Dijon, and immediately engaged them. Gondegefile, instead of supporting, attacked his brother's army in flank with dreadful slaughter. The victory was complete. Gondebaud and a few only of his army escaped, and fled to Avignon. Thither Clovis pursued him, while Gondegefile gathered the fruits of the victory, by seizing the places which opened their gates to him. Gondebaud, however, obtained more favourable terms than in his circumstances might have been expected. He engaged to pay Clovis a perpetual tribute, and to permit Gondegefile to retain Vienne the capital, and the other places which had already submitted to him.

Battle of
Dijon.
A. D. 503.

The

A. D. 503.

The first intention of Clovis was certainly to have gratified his resentment, by forcing Avignon, and by capturing, or destroying Gondebaud: but he was no less politic than brave; however successful he might be against the one brother, he foresaw that the other would still remain a powerful antagonist, in the possession of Burgundy. Though thus far avenged, his ambition might still be disappointed. He resolved, therefore, to spare the lives of both brothers, and leave them in possession of considerable strength; that by their mutual contests they might become, in the end, an easier, and apparently a more equitable prey.

Gondegefile was thoughtless and indolent; Gondebaud was provident, faithless, and indefatigable. He was no sooner at liberty than he set both Clovis and his own brother at defiance, re-assembled his army, carried Vienne by stratagem, massacred the inhabitants, and put to death Gondegefile, his third and only surviving brother.

He dreaded at this time the renewed vengeance of Clovis; but trusted in the support of Alaric, and hoped for the friendship and aid of Theodoric.

Clovis prevented his influence over the latter. He represented his perfidy and cruelty, his vicinity to Italy, and his boundless ambition, in such a light, that Theodoric entered, without hesitation, into alliance with Clovis. They agreed that both should march immediately with an army into Burgundy, and equally share the fruits of success.

Theodoric's
treachery.

But Theodoric proved false. At the request of Alaric he betrayed his ally's confidence¹¹. He delayed the raising, and afterwards, under various pretexts, the marching of his troops. He

¹¹ Epist. Theod. ad Alaric.

ordered

ordered them to advance slowly, that Clovis might be peccssitated to fight alone; and that if he were vanquished, they should return; but if successful, that then they should hasten to join him. Clovis was successful, and discovered the treachery; but, in the mean time, turned all his resentment on Alaric¹². A. D. 503.

He had often meditated war on this prince. They were about the same age, and both possessed great talents; but their habits were different. The one had enjoyed the most favourable opportunities of displaying his genius conspicuously to the world, by a continued series of wars and important conquests. The other succeeding naturally to a kingdom equal to his ambition, manifested his prudence and moderation in the cultivation of the peaceful arts and passive virtues. Early jealous of one another, the smallest circumstances gave offence, and produced resentment. Alaric was offended with the manner in which Clovis had demanded Syagrius, when a refugee at the court of Thoulouse; nor was Clovis satisfied with Alaric's countenancing that unfortunate general. Since that time, reports of contempt had mutually reached them, which would have provoked them to war, had it not been for Theodoric, who mediated between them, and pacified them. Alaric could no longer endure the successes of his rival, and hoped, by conspiring with the kings of Burgundy and Italy, to have arrested his career, and blasted his fame. But now that Gondebaud was defeated, and Theodoric had become the professed ally of the Franks, and confirmed that alliance by the late victory, Alaric dreaded the consequences of a war with such an enemy as Clovis. He sent

¹² Procop. de Bello Goth. lib. i. c. 12.

ambas-

A. D. 507. ambassadors, therefore, to assure him of his peaceable intentions, and to request an interview, in order the more cordially to settle their differences. To this Clovis readily agreed, and peace was proclaimed. But it only afforded them more leisure to prepare for war¹³.

Clovis knew the prejudices which had taken deep root against the family of Alaric, even among his own people. They had been persecuted; and the clergy especially had suffered much under his father, Evaric, on account of their Catholic principles. Their sufferings, it is true, had ceased; and they enjoyed many privileges under the present mild and generous administration; but prejudices of this kind are not easily removed. Two bishops of Tours were accused, whether justly or not, of a treasonable correspondence with the French, and banished from their diocese. The people attached to them were proportionally indignant against the power which seemed to oppress them, and were jealous that Alaric was about to resume the persecuting spirit of Arianism, which they had so detested in his father. "Many of the Gauls," says Gregory of Tours, "were most earnestly solicitous to submit to the government of the Franks"¹⁴.

Knowing these circumstances, Clovis assembled his people, and addressed them on those principles which never fail to prove most powerful incentives to action. He flattered their vanity, and inflamed their religious zeal. He represented their enemies, being Arians, as the enemies also of the Saviour of mankind: and asserted that, as it was their duty

¹³ Greg. Tur. lib. ii. c. 35.

¹⁴ Multi jam tunc ex Gallis, habere Francos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. c. 36.

to fight against them, there could be little doubt of success¹².

A. D. 503.

Such arguments prevailed not only with his own subjects, but, as he had taken care to publish them everywhere, they drew over to his interest all the neighbouring states, who were natives of Gaul, and averse from Arian principles. In a word, he needed but a victory over Alaric, to obtain, in the hearts of all who were Catholics, the surest possession of the country of the Visigoths.

Animated with these sentiments, he was impatient for the day which was to humble his rival, and gratify his own ambition. Every thing that obstructed his course seemed, in those times of frivolous superstition, to be ominous; as the sudden rise of the river Vienne, which interrupted his march and appeared to frustrate his purpose; while whatever seemed to encourage his views, as a hind, which the army observed passing at the only fordable part of the river, was construed as a heavenly guide destined to lead them to certain victory and glory.

A. D. 507.

The two armies met at Vouillé, near Poitiers. The impatience of the Visigoths, on seeing their country desolated, overcame the prudence of their king, who would have waited within his intrenchments for the arrival of the troops of Theodoric. He yielded to their clamours, and hazarded an engagement. The armies on both sides were numerous. The Franks were accustomed to discipline and war: the Visigoths were comparatively

Victory of Poitiers.

¹² Chlodoveus rex ait suis, valde moleste fero quod hi Arianam partem teneant Galliarum. Eamus cum Dei adiutorio, et superatis redigamus terram in ditionem nostram. Quamque placuisset omnibus hic sermo, jam commoto exercitu Pictaviam dirigit. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. c. 37.

A. D. 507.

raw and undisciplined troops. They stood some time opposed to each other in awful suspense on the field of battle. The signal at last was given, and both rushed forward to the charge with fury. The Visigoths sustained the first attack with valour, but falling in great numbers, the remainder began to give way. Alaric bravely strove to animate and support his troops. Clovis was no less boldly urging his men to advance on the yielding foe, when he recognized and challenged his rival. The challenge was accepted, and the two champions on horseback instantly darted against each other. The armies suspended the engagement to behold the awful conflict of their princes, and to witness, in the issue of the contest, the decision of their own fate, and that of their kingdoms. Both princes gave abundant proofs of their skill and valour; but Clovis being more robust and experienced in war, victory declared for him. Alaric received a stroke which brought him to the ground, and he expired. At that instant, two horsemen, frantic with the desire of revenge, pushed forward on each side of Clovis, in order to have dispatched him: his danger was imminent; but his natural vigour, the strength of his armour, and the prompt motion of his nearest troops, saved his life. The engagement then became general; and the Visigoths, being without a head, soon fell into disorder, and were cut to pieces.

The submission and conquest of nearly all that country which belonged to the Visigoths in Gaul, was the immediate consequence of this victory. Gesalic and Amalaric succeeded their father in Spain, and in a few places which they yet retained in Languedoc and Provence.

The dominions of Clovis were now extensive, and his fame was great. His neighbours reasonably
dreaded

dreaded his power, and distant sovereigns courted his friendship. A. D. 507.

The emperors of the east, finding themselves actually stripped of all the western parts of Europe, adopted an expedient to recover the imaginary possession of them. The dignity of patrician and consul, with a suitable robe and diadem, they offered to the kings of the Barbarians; and pretending to associate them in the empire, fancied it to be extended to its former greatness. Zeno had in this manner associated Theodoric king of Italy; and now Anastasius sent ambassadors with the same offer to Clovis. Vain policy of the emperors.

An expedient so vain could not, in reality, affect the independency of these princes: while, on the other hand, it highly gratified their vanity. Clovis considered it also as an evidence of the great extent of his fame. It certainly gave him an additional lustre in the eyes of his subjects. He took the name of Augustus, which had been conferred on him by the emperor, and celebrating a festival on the occasion, rode in procession through the city of Tours, adorned with the purple robe and diadem. A. D. 508.
Clovis's robe and diadem.

But this embassy and present of Anastasius had another object. Theodoric, king of Italy, had lately aided Mundon, a considerable rebel, against the emperor on the Danube. It seemed of great importance in this case to occasion such a diversion on the side of Gaul as might attract Theodoric's attention, and induce him to withdraw his troops from the east.

Clovis the more readily agreed to this proposal of the emperor, as it coincided entirely with his own plan for exterminating the Visigoths from Languedoc and Provence. It was not only the duty of Theodoric to defend his relations, the sons

A. D. 508.

of Alaric, but his interest to prevent any farther accession of power to the Franks in that quarter especially which bordered on Italy. Thither then both nations turned their arms. But the power and glory of Clovis had attained their utmost height. His army was obliged to raise the siege of Arles: and in a general engagement which followed, thirty thousand Franks were slain, and a great number taken prisoners. This was the first severe check which they received in Gaul. Theodoric soon after made peace with Clovis, and found pretexts for dispossessing his friends, the Visigoths, of that part of the country, and adding it to his own dominions.

Disappointed here, Clovis turned his arms with more success against Brittany, the ancient country of the Armoriques, which submitted to his power: and it was generally stipulated, that they should thenceforth have no more kings of their own, but be governed by counts, or dukes, dependent on the French¹⁶.

The successes of Clovis had generally established his authority over all his new subjects: but the chieftains who had originally accompanied him into Gaul, and who had been gratified with dependent sovereignties, gave him some occasions of uneasiness. The recollection of their former equality with him, and his defeat at Arles, encouraged their arrogance; they conspired against him, and this conspiracy proved their ruin.

Conspiracies
against
Clovis.

Clovis determined to rid himself of such troublesome friends: and his manner of doing it, marks the unchanged ferocity of his character. He enticed Clodoric, the son of Sigibert king of Co-

¹⁶ P. Daniel and the president Henault place this submission of the Bretons in the year 497, Mezerai in 502 or 503; nor is the nature of their subjection distinctly ascertained.

logne,

logne, to assassinate his infirm and aged father; and soon after procured the death of Clodoric himself, and seized his kingdom.

A. D. 508.

Now also he remembered the treachery of Cararic at the battle of Soissons, and degraded him and his son, according to the custom of those times, by causing their hair to be cropt: and afterwards, on pretence of a conspiracy, ordered them both to be beheaded.

His cruelties.

Rhanacaire, the chief dissenter on the occasion of the baptism of Clovis; and his brother Richaire, on like pretences, were betrayed and murdered. Clovis presented those who had betrayed them with gilded, instead of real money, telling them, when they complained of it, that it was the only recompence which he thought traitors deserved.

Rignomer, king of Maine, and other chieftains from whom he had any thing to apprehend to himself, or after his death to his family, all experienced the effects of his jealousy and cruelty¹⁷.

By these means, however, he became sole master of all France and the Netherlands, excepting Burgundy, Provence, and a few other places of small extent.

The building and endowing of churches and monasteries, were the acts of piety which the superstition of these times suggested, for expiating the foulest crimes. These acts accordingly Clovis liberally performed.

He had uniformly found it his interest to respect the Christian religion, and its ministers; and from the letter which the council of Orleans addressed

¹⁷ It is disgusting to hear Gregory, bishop of Tours, observing on such occasions, "That God laid his enemies daily at his feet, because he walked in his ways." Lib. ii. c. 41.

A. D. 508.

to him, it appears, that the clergy were equally disposed to honour him, and to promote and strengthen his authority and government.

Council of
Orleans.

The assembling of this council was one of the last acts of his administration. It was chiefly employed in determining the privileges of certain churches, as asylums, or places of sanctuary, in cases of imminent danger, for those whom illegal vengeance closely pursued. This privilege had been frequently abused, in sheltering criminals from just punishment on the one hand; and sometimes the refugee, however innocent, on the other, was dragged from his sanctuary, or had his blood shed at the very foot of the altar. Regulations were therefore enacted, to extend these privileges, and secure them against abuse. The other matters agitated were evidently ecclesiastical, or of a trivial nature.

A. D. 511.

Death of
Clovis.

Clovis died a few months after the dissolution of this council, in November A. D. 511. in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign, leaving his kingdoms, agreeably to the practice of these times, equally among his four sons.

His charac-
ter.

He possessed great talents, and enjoyed the most favourable opportunities of displaying them. He was skilful and valiant in war, and discerning and politic in government. He wonderfully accommodated himself to the various tempers and events which occurred, and seized, with uncommon sagacity, those conjunctures which were most suitable to his views and interests. His character appears most mild and favourable in domestic life, where the stronger passions were tranquil, and unagitated by political motives. But when we contemplate him as a warrior and prince, he appears boundless in his ambition, restless in his jealousies and

and resentments, and towards the end of his life especially, not only more rude and unprincipled, but shockingly cruel and barbarous.

A. D. 511.

SECT. II.

*The History of France under the Four Sons of Clovis,
from A. D. 511. to A. D. 562.*

THIERRI, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, the four sons of Clovis, the first before his marriage, and the three last by Clotildis, inherited his dominions. The ancient German custom of division by lot, might be the rule by which they distributed them¹, and the will of their deceased father might, in some degree, influence their conduct on that occasion. But when we consider their respective shares, and the situation of them, we have reason to think that Thierry's superior age and power disposed his younger brothers to accommodate and trust him, and so secure to him peaceably more than a due proportion of the kingdom. He was twenty-six years of age, and had acquired considerable experience in war. The eldest of the other three had not reached his seventeenth year. Notwithstanding the high encomium passed on these princes by a historian of that age², we must observe, from facts which will afterwards appear, that natural and virtuous affection cannot be supposed to have animated them; but that ambition must have dictated that in which youth and inexperience afterwards acquiesced.

Four sons
of Clovis.

¹ *Æqua lance dividunt.* Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 1.

² *Agathiz Hist. Goth. lib. i.*

A. D. 511.

Their several king-
doms.

The chief part of Thierry's dominions lay in the neighbourhood of Metz, which was his capital, and extended on both sides of the Rhine, and along the German ocean from the Meuse to the Elbe: he held also some rich provinces in the second Aquitania, towards the Rhone.

Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Berry, and Orleans formed compactly the kingdom of Clodomir, of which Orleans was the capital.

Childebert's kingdom, of which Paris was the capital, was extended along the north and west of France, from Picardy to the Pyrenees, but did not include Brittany, Maine, and Anjou.

Clotaire enjoyed those provinces only which now form the Isle of France, Picardy, and part of Flanders; Soissons was his capital, and the name of his kingdom.

There is another division of France which will often occur, and therefore requires some explanation. The eastern district, from the Meuse, including Lorraine, to the utmost limits of the French dominions beyond the Rhine, was, from its relative situation, called Austrasia. The country from the Meuse to the Loire, was called Neustria. Thence to the Pyrenees, as formerly, was Aquitania, which was sometimes understood to consist of the first Aquitania, lying betwixt the Garonne and the Pyrenees; and of the second Aquitania, lying betwixt the Loire and the Garonne.

The four French princes lived several years in union and peace, and during that time afforded reason for different historians to celebrate their exemplary concord. The youngest were yet incapable of enterprize, and their temper and interests were prudently managed and happily balanced by their mother Clotildis. Thierry, without incurring

ing much jealousy, appears to have taken a lead in their general councils and administration. On some occasions, when discords arose among them, and their several armies were drawn up in the field, the kindred tribes, whom they led to war, no sooner came in view of each other, than they suspended their arms and offered to submit their differences to arbitration, or to the chance of single combat; rather than shed the blood of friends, and consume and diminish the common strength of the empire³.

A. D. 512.

The general tranquillity was first disturbed by the Danes, an ancient people⁴, who often invaded and pillaged the other maritime nations of Europe, without ever obtaining any important or permanent settlement among them. Cochiliac pretending to be a descendant of Clodio, the son of Pharamond, appeared on the coast of Austrasia, with a numerous Danish fleet. He advanced up the Meuse as far as the present duchy of Gueldres, spreading on both sides terror and devastation. It does not appear, however, that any farther invasion or settlement was intended, for by the time that the French had collected an army and reached the Danes, they had loaded their ships with plunder, and were only waiting the re-embarkation of their troops, in order to return to their own country.

Danish invasion.
A. D. 519.

The French, even at this early period, were not ignorant of ship-building, or incapable of using expedition in that art. They speedily collected a fleet under the command of Theodebert, Thierry's son, a youth of eighteen years of age, and attacked the enemy's ships. With his own

³ Agath. Hist. Goth. l. i.

⁴ The Danes are sometimes confounded with the Normans, who certainly did settle both in France and Britain. From the latter Normandy in France derived, and retains its name to this day.

A. D. 519.

Conquest of Thuringia.

hand Theodebert slew their leader Cochiliac. The plundering army was defeated, and their ships were almost all taken or destroyed*.

Conquest of
Thuringia.

Mean time Thierri was occupied in making preparations for war in Thuringia, that country which lies betwixt the Elbe and the Weser, in Germany. The kingdom having been divided among three brothers, Amalberge the wife of Hermanfrid, who was one of them, endeavoured to persuade him to kill the other two, and seize their territories. Finding him shocked and reluctant, she hoped to tease him by daily upbraidings into compliance. She ordered his table to be but half covered, and half served at dinner, saying, when he asked the reason, "That he ought to be so treated who could be content with half a kingdom." She invited Thierri to assist in gratifying her ambition, and promised him a share of the conquest as a recompence. He complied, and having secured to Hermanfrid the whole kingdom of Thuringia, he received a proof that truth and honour could not be expected in the breast where cruelty was cherished. Amalberge was ambitious of being sole mistress of Thuringia, and had requested Thierri's aid for that purpose: she was not therefore more disposed to share the kingdom with him than with her brothers-in-law; and sent him home with the shameful reflection of having been duped, to gratify her inordinate ambition. He felt the disgrace, but found it necessary to wait a more favourable opportunity of shewing his resentment.

Theodoric of Italy was Amalberge's uncle, and a powerful and steady ally while he lived. After his death Thierri was impatient to be avenged,

* *Gesta Regum Franc.* c. 19. *Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 3.*

and persuaded his brother Clotaire to accompany him with his forces against Thuringia. Hermanfrid was apprised of their design and approach: he knew their resentment, their valour, and their power; and endeavoured to make up by stratagem, what he wanted in numbers. He drew up his army on an extensive plain, leaving an ample space in front. Here he caused pits to be digged and slightly covered with turf, and thus prepared, he waited the attack of his enemy.

A. D. 519.

The French coming forward, as he expected, to give him battle, their foremost squadrons tumbled into the pits, and occasioned a general confusion and dismay; of which, had the Thuringians been active to take advantage, the disorder might have been rendered more general and fatal. The cause of it, however, being soon perceived and understood, was immediately obviated. The Thuringians had trusted too much to the stratagem: when it failed, they were confounded, and fled; a dreadful carnage ensued: the victory was complete; and as there were no fortified places of any strength, the whole kingdom was annexed to Thierri's dominions in Austrasia. Amalberge and her children escaped to Italy: and Hermanfrid, unsuspecting of Thierri, and enjoying his hospitality, was treacherously thrown one day, as if by accident, over a high wall or precipice, and killed³.

A. D. 531.

These successes of the king of Austrasia and his son excited the warlike ambition of the sons of Clotildis. They were not ignorant of the fate of her father's family, and of the manner in which she had been treated when she left Burgundy with Aurelian. She is even said to have urged them to avenge the injuries done to her father's house,

³ Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 4.

and

A. D. 532.

and recover the patrimony of which she had been robbed.

Conquest of

Burgundy.

A. D. 534.

Sigismund had succeeded to his father Gondebaud, in Burgundy. Though not an extensive kingdom, it was a great object of ambition to the French princes, as it lay in the heart of their dominions. They did not make an attempt on it while Sigismund was supported by Theodoric king of Italy, whose daughter he had espoused; but she dying, left Sigeric an only son; and on Sigismund's marrying again, the most unhappy jealousies arose between Sigeric and his mother-in-law. He publicly insulted her; and she in return incensed his father against him. Parental affection gave way to conjugal and political influence, and the cruel father first intoxicated, and then strangled his own son.

Theodoric, indignant at hearing of this atrocity, broke off all connexion with him, and abandoned him to his enemies. The French princes now entered Burgundy with their united forces, and fought and conquered Sigismund and his brother Godemar. The latter escaped; but the former, after various wanderings and hardships with his queen and two young sons, was delivered, by his own subjects, into the hands of Clodomir, who barbarously slew them, and ordered their bodies to be thrown into a well. Their fate was nearly similar to that which the father of Clotildis and his family suffered from Gondebaud, Sigismund's father.

Godemar, after his escape, collected the remains of his brother's army, and in a short time recovered the kingdom. But his reign was of short duration: the king of Austrasia uniting his forces with those of the other princes, Godemar was unable to resist them. Though in a general engagement

ment which he hazarded with them, he fought like one who had every thing at stake, he was forced to yield, and his army was totally routed: whether he escaped to Africa, or fell into the hands of the enemy and died, is not known; but it is certain that Burgundy, at this æra, after having been about an hundred years an independent sovereignty, was subjected to the power of France⁶.

A. D. 534.

In an engagement during this war, Clodomir, advancing too far on the enemy in the heat of the battle, was slain. He left three sons, who ought to have inherited his kingdom of Orleans, had not another fate awaited them, and from a quarter whence tenderness and affection only might have been expected.

It was natural for the good queen Clotildis, in the exercise of her compassion and love, to distinguish her grand-children, the sons of Clodomir, with a particular regard, to honour them as his representatives, and study to secure for them their father's dominions. Her peculiar attention served only to inflame the jealousy and cruel ambition of of their uncles Childebert and Clotaire, who had formed the design of first seizing and then dividing between them the kingdom of Orleans. They met at Paris, where Clotildis resided with the children. They only hesitated whether they should order the hair of the children to be cropt, to disqualify them, according to an established custom, from reigning; or at once get possession of their persons, and put them to death. They resolved on the latter expedient, and on pretence of immediately placing them on their father's throne, sent for them. Their grandmother embracing

Clodomir's
sons mas-
sacred by
their uncles.

⁶ Procop. Hist. Goth. lib. i. c. 13. Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 11. P. Dan. vol. i. p. 81.

them

A. D. 534.

them at their departure, the one being ten and the other only seven years of age, said, "I shall scarcely seem to have lost my son, your father, when I shall have the happiness of beholding his sceptre in your hands." On arriving in the presence of their uncles, their attendants and keepers were instantly dismissed, and a messenger was dispatched to the queen-dowager, to ask which she preferred, (presenting her with a drawn sword, and a pair of scissars,) the degradation, or death; of her grandsons. In the agitation of her mind, and the bitterness of her grief, she answered, "It were better they should die, than not reign." Her words, being not duly weighed, were too suddenly caught, and too faithfully reported. The barbarous Clotaire no sooner heard them, than he seized the eldest of his nephews, threw him on the ground, and plunged a dagger in his breast. In vain the younger nephew screamed, and flew to the arms of his other uncle, Childebert, for shelter. Childebert, more tender and irresolute, fell at his brother's feet, and interceded with tears for the life of his nephew. This only served to heighten the murderer's fury. "Throw him from you," cried Clotaire, "or perish along with him! Did not the proposal originate with you; and will you attempt now to relinquish, and even oppose it?" The sentiment of compassion and tenderness made but a slight impression on the merciless Childebert, who instantly yielding to ambition and fear, thrust his nephew from his arms, when the innocent child was seized by Clotaire, and butchered like his brother. The only remaining obstacle to the ambition of Clotaire and Childebert was a third nephew, an infant, who had escaped. To save his life his friends had cut off his hair, and placed him in a monastery,

nastery, where he died: thus every impediment being removed, the inhuman uncles divided between them the kingdom of Orleans? A. D. 514.

The same inordinate ambition which coincided with the sentiments and views of one brother, exposed Childebert to the indignation and resentment of another. Amalric, son of Alaric king of the Visigoths, had married Clotildis, daughter of the late Clovis. She had been educated strictly a catholic, and he was a rigid Arian. This difference of religious faith affected their temper, and marred their happiness. He allowed the people publicly to insult her as a catholic, and is said to have permitted them repeatedly, with impunity, to throw dirt at her as she came from the place of worship which she usually frequented. Indeed, he is even represented to have beat her cruelly himself; and her handkerchief, all smeared with blood from the wounds which she had received from him, she is said to have sent to her brother Childebert, imploring his protection.

Childebert resolved instantly to deliver his sister, and to avenge her cause. Being on his march for that purpose, he was informed, by what might have been reckoned good authority, of the death of his brother Thierry; and was invited by some of the principal inhabitants to take possession of that part of Aquitania which belonged to him.

Believing too easily what he wished to be true, and as these towns and territories, which were not only rich and populous, but lay contiguous to his dominions, were extremely desirable, he instantly resolved to invade and seize them. It seemed a favourable crisis, he changed his route, and took possession of Auvergne; but, on being introduced

² Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 18.

into

A. D. 534 into that city by Archadius, one of the senators, he discovered the information which he had received to be false, and that his brother was still alive; on which he instantly left Auvergne exposed to his brother's vengeance for having admitted him, and returned to his former route, to avenge on Amalric the injuries of his sister. He entered Languedoc; engaged Amalric under the walls of Narbonne; defeated his army, and slew him; took Clotildis under his protection, and was conducting her to Paris, when, oppressed with grief and suffering, she died on the way^{*}.

Childebert's digression to Auvergne was afterwards the occasion of much trouble and loss to that city and country. Thierri, highly incensed against the people for having admitted any of the troops of Neustria within their gates, threatened them with vengeance, invested them with an army, and seemed inexorably determined on their ruin. Even the solemn procession of the bishop, followed by the principal citizens, to Thierri's tent, imploring forgiveness in the most affecting manner, was ineffectual. It had, however, strongly affected his mind: for disturbed with dreams, he became frantic; and at last yielded to a superstitious imagination, what he had refused to the bishop and the people. He accepted their submission and pardoned them, with the exception only of some of the leaders, whom he banished.

He soon found that a numerous faction was not easily to be reduced: and that though lenity may encourage licentiousness, excessive severity will excite general compassion, and confirm resentment. His soldiers having been permitted to pillage the country at discretion, had excited the

^{*} Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 11. Adonis Chronicon, ad Ann. 519: indignation

indignation of the people, and afforded them the plea of necessity for insurrection and resistance. In such circumstances a leader was desirable. Munderic, therefore, presented himself as a descendant of Clovis; assumed the title of king, and proclaimed himself more worthy to reign, than the tyrant who had so oppressed and desolated the country. All who were discontented, worthless, or destitute, flocked to his standard.

Thierri despised them as an army, yet, before he exposed his troops to such desperadoes, he thought it prudent to summon them to surrender. Munderic at first answered with insolence; and threw himself and his men into Vitri, a place at that time of considerable strength. Finding that he was closely invested, and having little hope of escape, though he might have kept possession of the city another week, he listened to proposals which were made indirectly to him a second time. Thierri sent Aregisile, one of his attendants, an artful and enterprising man, under pretence of negotiating with Munderic, to shew him the danger to which he was exposed, and assure him that he must be reduced by famine, if not by force of arms; and that it were better for him now to accept of mercy, than by an unnecessary delay provoke certain vengeance.

Munderic was not insensible of his critical situation. "I see my danger," said he to Aregisile, "but it is better for me and my family, who are involved in the same perils with myself, to die bravely in arms, than basely by the hand of the common executioner! For your prince is inexorable."—"No," replied Aregisile, "I am authorised to assure you of pardon, and to swear to you, that if you will now surrender, you shall be restored to all your former privi-

A. D. 534. "leges and honours." The oath was solemnly given, and Munderic, unsuspecting, went with the traitor to meet the king. As they went out from the garrison, the people thronged around them, in anxious expectation of a favourable issue to the negotiation. Some soldiers were mingled with them, ready to fall on the unhappy Munderic. "Why do you so gaze on Munderic?" said Aregisile, pushing him from him. This was the signal to cut him in pieces. Munderic perceived the treachery in time to strike the villain mortally with his lance, saying, "Traitor, I perish! but you shall die before me." Then rushing among the soldiers, he killed several of them, till at last overpowered by numbers, he fell, pierced with many wounds. Vitri immediately surrendered, and the whole country was again restored to peace.

Death of
Thierri.

Thierri next intended to have invaded the provinces still held in this part of the country by the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, and Theodebert his son was sent before him with that view to take some towns, and to prepare for the general conquest of Languedoc and Provence. In the midst of these preparations, however, he died at Metz, in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign.

His character was extremely mixed. He was active and prudent, valiant and skilful; but, even making allowance for the times in which he lived, false and cruel. Though he did not, like his brothers, stain his own hands with the blood of his nephews, yet he approved of their conduct, and shared in the spoils. He did not personally betray Munderic, but he laid the plan, and ap-

* Aimoin. lib. ii. c. 8. Greg. Tur. c. 14.

pointed the means for carrying it into execution. In rude ages, deceit and violence have been common; but it is to be regretted, that, in every age, under the pretexts of policy, truth and justice have been too frequently sacrificed to the ambition of princes, and to the temporary and uncertain interests of kingdoms. The ignorance, superstition, and ecclesiastical policy of those times gave encouragement to the crimes of princes, and to immorality in general, by too readily receiving donations of churches, church-lands, or other inferior gifts, as tokens of penitence and expiations of guilt. It was in vain that the church, as in the third and fourth councils of Orleans, framed and published canons against prevailing crimes and scandals, while by such means of atonement the clergy actually encouraged them.

By Suavegotte, the daughter of Sigismund, Thierri left two children, Theodebert, who succeeded him, and Theodechilde. Their uncles had begun to plot against them, to secure to themselves the kingdom of Austrasia. But Theodebert's return from the south of France, his experience, and the attachment of his barons and soldiers, disconcerted and frustrated their schemes.

Theodebert had been appointed, by his late father, to the command of an army in the south of France, which was intended to strip the Ostrogoths and Visigoths entirely of all that they possessed in that quarter. He had taken two towns, and had summoned a third, Cabrière, with certification that, unless it was immediately surrendered, he would lay the country desolate, and make the citizens slaves.

Deuterie, by whom, in the absence of her husband, the city was held, sent a deputation to acknowledge his power, and the impropriety of de-

taining

A. D. 534.

taining him longer before a place so unimportant; inviting him to receive from herself the keys of the fortress. She yielded the city to his arms; and, being young and beautiful, made a conquest of his heart: though married to another, she lived with Theodebert several years, and afterwards married him.

Deuterie's
jealousy.

Her daughter by her former husband continued to attend her, and in the course of a few years far exceeded her mother in beauty. The king admired her, and Deuterie became frantic with jealousy. That awful passion stifled every parental feeling, and made her devise an artful plan of destroying her own daughter. She prevailed with the driver of her chariot, in passing the bridge of Verdun, to overturn her, as by accident, into the Meuse. The crime and its author became generally known. It excited such murmurs among the people, and such horror even in Theodebert's mind, as to detach him quite from a woman so abandoned, and restored him to Wisegarde his legitimate wife, and to the duties which he owed her¹⁰.

Like his father, he stood aloof generally from his uncles. His power was superior to either of them alone; but united, he was only able to keep them in awe. When all the three acted in concert they became formidable indeed to their immediate neighbours, and sometimes extended their arms even to Italy.

On the death of Theodoric, one of the best princes that ever sat on the throne of Italy, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths devolved to Athalaric his grandson, then about nine years of age. Amalasuntha, his mother, the daughter of Theodoric,

was readily acknowledged regent during her son's minority. She was prudent, upright, and disposed to reign in peace, as her father had generally done before her. But Justinian, the Emperor of the East, was ambitious to reunite Italy with the Empire, and considered the minority of Athalaric as the most favourable opportunity for gratifying that ambition. Theodebert, king of Austrasia, was no less desirous to add to his dominions those territories on the Rhone which still belonged to the Goths.

A. D. 534.
The Italian war.

The fierce spirits of the Ostrogoths, which had been kept under subjection during the long reign of Theodoric, still unsubdued and uncultivated, respected not with equal awe the authority of a gentle and enlightened female. She wanted to confer on her son an education which might enlarge his mind, and improve his talents. They challenged the plan which she had formed for that purpose, as too effeminate for one whom they thought destined to head an army, rather than to patronise an academy: between these they knew no medium; nor did they perceive any advantage, civil or military, which a prince could derive from learning. They obliged her therefore to dismiss his Roman teachers; set him free from her discipline, as too severe; and indulged him, at the age of fourteen, in every kind of dissipation. He soon wasted his constitution by intemperance, and languished under a consumption, which threatened his life. Apprehensive of the consequences which might follow on her son's death, and murmurs and general discontent being excited against her government, she was peculiarly anxious to be prepared for that event. Having applied to Justinian for leave to take refuge, in case of necessity, in his dominions, she collected her treasure, and sending

Amalasuntha.

A. D. 534. it before her to Epidamnus, was in readiness herself to follow, when she fatally devised and executed another plan.

Theodotus. Having rid herself of some of her principal opponents, she felt her mind more unwilling than she imagined to relinquish her princely rank, and the administration of so respectable a kingdom. On the death of her son, therefore, she invited Theodotus, her nephew, to accept the kingdom nominally, and to swear that he would not interfere with her in the government. He was a literary man, advanced in life, of a contracted temper, and inactive habits. He had proposed to surrender the lordship of Tuscany which he enjoyed, to Justinian, for a large sum of money, with the rank of senator, and a secure retreat at Byzantium; and he entertained a strong resentment against Amalasuntha for having prevented him from executing that purpose. Her offer presented him with the opportunity of revenge which he wanted. He readily took the oath, in order that he might be put in possession of the power; but considering himself as the nearest heir of Theodoric, and the crown as his right, he looked on her as an usurper, and was not ignorant of her negotiations with Justinian to reunite Italy with the Empire. Under the semblance therefore of reconciliation, he obtained what otherwise she might have rendered extremely difficult or impossible for him to have done, and with her concurrence ascended the throne of the great Theodoric.

As soon as he felt himself seated on the throne, he invited around him all her enemies, murdered her best friends, banished her to an island in the Volturnian lake in Tuscany, and not long after, fearing that she might escape, gave an order to put her to death. Having been much respected by the people during her regency, her death was lamented.

lamented. Justinian pretended that she was his ally and particular friend; and knowing the unpopularity and imbecillity of Theodotus, made his cruelty to her the pretence for quarrelling with him, and invading Italy. He ordered Mundus to march with one army by the way of Dalmatia, and Belisarius to sail with another by Sicily; and then wrote to the Franks, and persuaded Theodebert, that it was their interest in many respects to unite with him at this conjuncture in subduing the Goths, and in driving them from Italy and Gaul.

A. D. 534.

Theodotus wanted both the desire and the qualities for reigning. His mind sunk under the fear of three invading armies: and before any of them had reached Italy, he offered to abandon it, provided only that such a suitable place of retirement as was formerly mentioned were secured for him. He soon became contemptible in the eyes of the people: they suspected his design of conveying the kingdom to the Emperor, and in an assembly, convened to deliberate and decide on the state of the nation, they declared him incapable of governing at this crisis, and appointed Vitigez, a man of obscure birth, but great military experience, in his room.

Vitigez caused Theodotus, who had reigned three years, to be slain as he was attempting to make his escape, and secured his infant son also, lest he should at any time be made the instrument of rebellion. He married Matafuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, though against her will, by way of securing an hereditary title to the crown, and of ennobling himself and family in the eyes of the nation. He next studied to gain the friendship of the neighbouring states, and to shew them how much their interests were involved with his own against the Emperor: knowing the only price at which

Vitigez,
A. D. 536.

A. D. 536.

he could purchase the alliance and support of the French, he prevailed with the states of his kingdom to cede to them the territories hitherto held by the Goths in Provence. For this, Theodebert and his uncles not only detached themselves from the Emperor, but agreed to march ten thousand Burgundians to the aid of Vitigez.

Belisarius.

Having now no apprehensions from that quarter, Vitigez recalled his troops, and assembled an army of 150,000 men, to arrest the progress of the Imperial army under Belisarius. That famous general, already covered with military glory in Asia and Africa, seemed irresistible wherever he went, and carried in his very name, and in the confidence which his soldiers reposed in him, a formidable strength. Sicily was an easy conquest: Naples yielded to his skill, and to the valour of his small, but brave army: and Rome, after sixty years subjection to the Gothic sceptre, again opened her gates, and submitted to the Imperial power. But she had scarcely welcomed the Roman general, and admired that discipline of his soldiers, which respected the rights, the property, and general comfort of that venerable city, when she saw with dismay a Gothic army advancing to subject her to all the hardships and dangers of a long siege. The troops were few which defended her during a whole year that the siege was carried on, but under such a general they performed prodigies of valour: they destroyed one third of the Gothic army, and at last obliged them disgracefully to raise the siege.

Through the jealousies and divisions of the Roman generals and army, the Goths were more successful against Milan, which they took by storm, and slaughtered, it is said, not less than three hundred thousand male inhabitants. The females were given as a recompence to the ten thousand Burgundians

Burgundians whom the French princes had sent A. D. 534. to the aid of Vitigez.

From Milan the victorious Goths marched across the Po, and pitched their camp opposite to that of Belisarius near the Derton (Tortona). The two armies, in awe of one another, lay some months in this state without hazarding an engagement, when they were informed that Theodebert with a French Theodebert. army of a hundred thousand men had entered Italy.

Each of the hostile generals had reason to think that they came to succour him. Vitigez particularly never doubted, knowing his critical situation, and the danger which might arise to France from the Imperial conquests, that they were come to his aid, to co-operate with him in driving Belisarius and his Greeks out of Italy. From Theodebert's treaty with Justinian on the other hand, his general believed that they were come as his friends, and rejoiced at so great an accession to his comparatively small army. Theodebert's real intention however, knowing their reduced and feeble state by so active a war, was to share a part of Italy with either, or dictate to both.

The Goths, disposed to welcome him, allowed him quietly to rest, and arrange his troops before their camp. They were surprised, and astonished to find themselves attacked by him in that position. Amazed, they fled, and abandoned every thing to these faithless barbarians.

Seeing this, the Greeks believed them now to be their friends, but were soon undeceived: for pouring out from the camp in disorder to welcome them, they were intercepted, and having no means of defence, fled with precipitation into Tuscany. The French then easily took possession of the two deserted camps, in which they found abundance of provisions to serve for the present, but not suffi-

A. D. 536.

cient for the support of so numerous an army any length of time. The desolated country afforded but a scanty supply; destitute of bread particularly, and having no other liquor to drink but the water of the Po, they became sickly, and died of a dysentery in such numbers, that Theodebert judged it necessary to retreat homewards as fast as possible, with about two-thirds only of his great army. The Imperialists profited by the dispersion of the two armies, which the faithless French had occasioned; they took Ozimo and Fiesoli, which Vitigez was not in a condition to succour; and shut him up, with the remainder of his army, in his metropolis, Ravenna.

The French, less sensible of their disgraceful invasion than of their retreat, irritated by the boast of the Imperial army that without unsheathing a sword it had driven them back into France, and hoping that they might yet be able to retrieve their lost honour and give law to both the contending powers in Italy, and especially on learning the desperate circumstances of Vitigez, assembled an army of five hundred thousand men, and marched them towards Ravenna. A messenger was dispatched to him to notify the approach of this formidable body, and to assure him of relief if he would surrender that city and the sovereignty of Italy; that they were a match for both the besiegers and besieged, were they even to unite; and were certainly able to afford him and his friends protection, if they would be persuaded to throw themselves into their hands.

Belisarius, informed of this embassy, warned the besieged on the other hand, that they had no reason either to fear or trust the French: that as they had begun to negotiate with the Emperor, they ought without delay or hesitation to finish the treaty, since

since he was surely able to protect them against that numerous army: that the French did not even attempt to conceal their desire of the sovereignty of Italy: "Yield to them then," said he, "but a little, and they will totally overthrow the kingdom of the Goths. Judge from what you have already experienced; judge from their conduct towards the Thuringians and Burgundians. Suppose they should offer you favourable terms, and enter into a treaty with you, how shall you bind them? What oath will they respect; or what God do they fear?"

A. D. 536.

It became necessary at this time for Vitigez, such was the state of his garrison, to yield to the one or the other. Having more confidence in Belisarius, he surrendered to him Ravenna, with his few remaining troops, and was sent himself to Constantinople, where he spent the remainder of his days in ease and quiet. Thither also Belisarius returned at the call of his jealous master, honourably preferring dutiful obedience and submission, to the violation of the trust reposed in him, and to the usurpation of the sovereignty of Italy tendered to him by the Goths. Theodebert, totally disappointed, marched back his numerous army into France.

A. D. 539.

Italy thus lost its king, its treasures, and its army. Pavia was still held by a thousand men, who were animated with an ardent love of freedom. Uraias was worthy to command them; but declined the honour; on which Hildibald, or Theudibald, was appointed; but whether worthy of it or not, he was assassinated by Vilas through private resentment at a public entertainment. Erarichus then assumed the royal title for a few months, but was put to death, as altogether unequal to the high office of general and

²¹ Procop. *Caesar. Goth. Hist.* lib. i. & ii.

A. D. 539.

Totila.

sovereign at so critical a period. Totila the nephew of Hildibald succeeded Eraric, and with five thousand soldiers undertook the recovery of Italy. His exertions and success were great: he surprised Artabazes the Greek general, killed him, and routed his army. With a rapidity which astonished himself, he recovered Naples, Cumæ, Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, and Rome. His conquests were owing to his virtues as well as his valour. Italy seemed again lost to the Empire; and Belisarius appeared the only person able to arrest the progress of Totila.

Belisarius remained unchangeable: his person was tall and handsome; his appearance majestic; his temper meek, and his manners gentle: no one ever saw him intoxicated: his sexual abstinence was singularly virtuous, even on occasions of great temptation: his discipline was strict, and his attention to his soldiers kind and generous. He discovered no less fortitude in adverse circumstances, than courage in action; and never was a general more universally beloved and revered, or any public officer deemed more deserving of confidence.

On his return to Italy, he did all that courage and valour could do: but whatever was the cause, he was allowed to remain in want of soldiers, provisions, and every other necessary for carrying on the military operations which he had projected. Finding all his exertions vain, he solicited and obtained leave to resign his command, and returned, to endure unfounded suspicions of treason, than which nothing can be more painful to a faithful subject, or to a virtuous and noble mind¹².

Narjes,
A. D. 552.

Justinian persisted in prosecuting his plan of the conquest of Italy; and Germanus, and on his death

¹² Procop. Cæsar. Goth. Hist. lib. iii. & iv.

Narjes,

Narſes, was appointed to conduct the war. He was provided with an ample treasury, and a formidable army. His talents were ſplendid, and his ſucceſſes great. Totila fled before him after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, and was killed. Teias ſucceeded Totila, and fought a deſperate battle at the foot of the Laſtarian mountain in defence of his crown and country: his arm being no longer able to ſuſtain his buckler, which was loaded with the hoſtile weapons that ſtuck in it, he called for another, and as he was ſhifting it, the expoſed ſide was pierced by a javelin of the enemy, which killed him, and with him fell the empire of the Goths in Italy. Narſes then proſecuted the war with vigour, and had nearly terminated it, having once more reſtored almoſt all Italy to the Empire, when a new enemy appeared to diſpute with him the maintenance of his conqueſt.

A. D. 552.

Theodebert king of Auſtraſia having been accidentally killed as he was hunting in a foreſt, was ſucceeded by Theodebald his ſon, a weakly child, not above thirteen years of age. Juſtinian congratulated him on his acceſſion, and renewed with him the treaty of peace which had ſubſiſted with his father. The Goths alſo in their laſt ſtruggle implored his immediate aid againſt Narſes, and repreſented the danger to which France muſt be expoſed by the fall of the Gothic kingdom.

The counſellors of the young prince on this occaſion do not appear to have been altogether conſiſtent; they treated with the emperor, yet invaded Italy with two powerful armies. They reſuſed to aſſiſt the Goths in their laſt ſtruggle, yet, by invading Italy and oppoſing Narſes, they made that diſverſion which ſeemed beſt calculated to relieve the Goths, and afford them time to breathe and recover. In ſhort, their aim ſeems to have been

a con-

A. D. 552.

Leutharis
and
Butiline.

a continuation of the plan of Theodebert and his father, to attack both the contending parties at an occasion might require, to conquer Italy; and to sub-
ject it to the dominion of France.

Leutharis and Butiline, or as others call him, Buceline¹³, to whom this war was committed, marched into Italy with an army of seventy-five thousand men. They were brothers, of a family of the Alemanni, the first generals of their nation, and much respected in France. They entertained the most sanguine hopes of success in this expedition, which might be deemed political, in so far as it was calculated to arrest the progress of the Imperial arms; but which, considering it as a continuation of former plans, appears more certainly as a war of ambition.

As soon as they presented themselves before Parma, which was still held by the Ostrogoths, it opened its gates to them. They defeated a detachment of the army of Narses under Fulcaris, and traversed and ravaged all the country along the course of the Po. On the confines of Samnium the two generals separated. Buceline marched to the right, along the Tuscan and Neapolitan shores; and Leutharis to the left, along the Adriatic coast. The two extreme points of the continent of Italy bounded and reverted their licentious march, in which they seemed more intent to ruin, than conquer the country.

The immense load of plunder which they acquired became one of the principal causes of their subsequent calamities. Their anxiety to preserve it impeded their march; and that which they carried with them, added to their arms, incumbered and oppressed them. They had allowed the cooler season of the spring to elapse, and were now

¹³ Agathias, lib. i. denies that the young prince approved of the conduct of his generals.

broiling

broiling under the intense heat of summer in that southern climate. Butilinc proposed to remain and assist the Goths; Leutharis resolved to return homewards, and as soon as the plunder could be secured beyond the reach of the enemy, to march back and join his brother. He had proceeded without any obstruction or remarkable occurrence till he came to Fano, where he encamped, sending forward a detachment to scour the country, and prepare the way for his future march. This detachment thinking themselves secure, regardless of order, were straggling along the shore, when they were attacked by a body appointed to watch and intercept them. Leutharis left his camp, and advanced hastily with all his army to support the detachment. He succeeded; but in his absence the prisoners rose, and having pillaged the camp, fled with as much of the plunder as they could possibly carry, into the country. On the return of Leutharis with his army, the loss was observed, and felt; and, anxious to preserve in safety what remained, they immediately pressed forward, crossed the Po with difficulty, and halted at Cænesa, a town in Venetia then in their possession. There they had leisure to reflect on their toils, and to discover, on examining the remainder of their plunder, that they had not obtained an adequate recompence. This not merely fretted and vexed them, but filled them with disappointment and anguish. The state of their mind probably contributed to aggravate a pestilential disease, which now broke out among them in the midst of every animal indulgence, and in an atmosphere by no means favourable to their constitution and present habits. The symptoms of this disease were various: some were composed, and comparatively free from pain; others were oppressed with a heavy dull pain in the head, and died delirious; and scarcely one

of

A. D. 558.

of them survived; Leutharis himself terminating his life in the most excruciating convulsions and madness.

Meantime Butiline was returning by the way of Campania, and advancing towards Rome, when he understood that Narses was collecting an army against him. The French, destitute of suitable provisions, too freely devoured the grapes, which they found in abundance, it being now the harvest. The consequence was, that they were attacked with bodily disorder and weakness, at a time when vigour and exertion were most necessary. They were encamped on the Casilin near Capua. That river defended them on the right; while on the left they were surrounded with their carts and waggons, the wheels being half sunk and fastened in the earth. The bridge was secured by a wooden tower, in which were posted some of the bravest of the troops. Thus, with an army of thirty thousand men, Butiline thought himself safe against the Romans, who amounted only to eighteen thousand. Narses had pitched his camp on the other side of the river, so near them that he could both hear their noise and observe their motions. The armies viewed each other with the most fierce and hostile dispositions; the two generals were variously agitated, sometimes elated with confidence, at other times afraid and dejected; and the neighbouring states and cities of Italy beheld them with awful suspense, knowing that on the issue of the battle must depend their future fate.

In want of provision, the French were obliged to send foraging parties at some distance into the country, and for a time were successful in obtaining a supply; but Narses, determined to prevent this, gave orders at all hazards to attack these foraging parties on their return. The officer to whom this charge was entrusted, executed it with skill and
success;

success, and having seized a waggon, loaded with old hay, he drove it close to the wooden tower which the French had reared for the defence of the bridge, and there set fire to it. The flame soon caught the wood, and the soldiers, not being able to extinguish it, were obliged to abandon the tower. The Romans thus got possession of the bridge, and more free access to the enemy. A general engagement became unavoidable, and both armies were drawn up in order of battle; that of Narses in the form of a phalanx, having the infantry ranged in two deep lines in the middle and the cavalry on the wings, he took his own station on the right: a *testudo* preceded the main body; and two detachments, concealed in the neighbouring woods, were ready at a proper season to rush out on the enemy's wings both right and left, to intimidate and disorder them.

The French army assumed a wedge-like or triangular form, having the sharp edge towards the enemy, and spreading on both sides to a considerable extent. Each of the flanks of this body was defended with a strong line of infantry, (for they had no cavalry,) stretching a great way in a concave curvature, with their backs to the main body.

The French, impatient and confident of success, began as usual with a shout, and a rapid march against the Romans, who, making way for them, allowed them to pass through their phalanx. They were attacked behind by those detachments which Narses had placed there with that view: A body of *Heruli*, who in the beginning had seceded from Narses on account of the severe discipline which he had exercised on one of their men, no longer able to restrain themselves from sharing in the engagement, now returned, and occupying that place in the center of the phalanx through

A. D. 552.

through which the French had passed, cut off their retreat. Inclosed on every side, and attacked furiously by both infantry and cavalry, they could not escape; many of them were driven into the river and drowned; and the whole army, five men only excepted, were slain. Of the army of Narfes eighty only were killed or missing, who were chiefly those who had been exposed to the enemy in the first onset¹⁴.

A. D. 555.

Thus ended an expedition, which, from whatever motives it was undertaken, was certainly conducted with extreme avarice and with a foolish confidence, and which, with these two armies, amounting together to seventy-five thousand men, lost all the cities and territories hitherto possessed by the French in Italy. Narfes was unable to restrain the joy of his army and the people in general, when they were informed that the army of Leutharis also had perished by disease. The conduct of Narfes in this war was generally admired; and all Italy soon after acknowledged his dominion.

Death of
Clotildis;

Twelve years before this event, the dowager queen Clotildis died, the ornament of her sex, and a blessing while she lived to her family and her subjects. Her piety was unaffected, and her prudence singular. Such was her respectability, that she retained an influence to the last moment over her sons, by which, with an insensible sway, she was able often to prevent their differences, and to moderate their resentments. Her death was generally regretted, and she was buried at Paris with all the honours due to her high rank and character.

and of
Theode-
bald.

Her great grandson Theodebald had but a feeble constitution, and an indolent temper. He died paralytic the same year in which the armies

¹⁴ Agathin Mit. Goth. Ep. 11.

of Leutharis and Butilinc perished in Italy, at the age of twenty, and in the seventh year of his reign. A.D. 555.

His nearest surviving relations were two sisters, but the legal heirs of his crown were his grand uncles Childebert and Clotaire. Childebert was advanced in age, emaciated and infirm, and had no male issue; Clotaire was robust and vigorous, and had four sons, who had all arrived at manhood, and were full of spirit and ambition. Clotaire assembled the states of Austrasia, and having represented the state of Childebert's health, and his want of male children, he observed, that as all his brother's dominions must soon fall to him in the course of nature, it were better for them at once to submit to him, and acknowledge him their king. His reasoning was plausible, and proved effectual. They instantly avowed their attachment and allegiance; and Childebert himself, finding it vain to oppose the general current, made a formal surrender to him of his claim on Austrasia.

Clotaire's happiness, however, did not increase with the extent of his dominions. The Thuringians and Saxons, whether encouraged by Childebert his brother, and Chramnes his own son, or moved by their own restlessness and desire of independence, revolted from him; but after a few months of anxiety and war, he reduced them to submission.

The rebellion of Chramnes was more distressing, and its consequences were more lasting. Chramnes was handsome in his person, and adorned with many good mental qualities. His father loved him, and perhaps too early had entrusted him with the government of Auvergne. He had appointed Ascovinde, a man of prudence and worth, as his friend and counsellor. But Chramnes preferred the company and counsel of Leon de Poitiers, a man of the most dissipated manners, who encouraged him in vice and folly, and even exemplified in his conduct

Rebellion of
Chramnes.

A. D. 555.

every kind of debauchery and outrage. When Clo-taire heard of his son's conduct, he ordered him to return; instead of which, encouraged by Childebert his uncle and others to imagine himself sovereign and independent, he began to levy troops, form alliances, and ravage the country.

Clotaire, being at this time occupied himself with the Saxons, sent two of his sons, Caribert and Gontran, with a sufficient army to Auvergne. As they were directed, they first prudently and affectionately admonished their brother to lay down his arms, and return to his duty; but finding him obstinate, they resolved to employ the force with which they were entrusted, and to offer him battle. He seemed not unwilling to fight them; but, conscious of his inferiority, contrived to delay the engagement till he had executed a plan, by which he exposed their credulity and ambition to their father, and rendered them extremely ridiculous.

He sent a courier to their camp, express from Saxony, with the news of their father's death. They rashly believed the report, and yielded to jealousy and the love of supreme power. They were afraid lest in their absence their brother, who remained at home, might usurp the government, and exclude them from their legal share of the kingdom. More ambitious to succeed their father than to execute his commission, they broke up their camp and hastened home. Chramnes was relieved and gratified. He soon after made his submission to his father, and was pardoned. His obedience, however, was of short duration: he fled to Brittany with his wife and two daughters, and there, in concert with the Count Conomor or Conober of that province, he raised an army and took the field openly against his father; but it was impossible that he could long withstand the whole power of France. Being defeated there-fore,

fore, and taken prisoner, he and his family who were with him, were shut up in a cottage in which they had taken refuge; and by his father's command, it is said, were there consumed by fire. A. D. 555.

The unhappy father, afterwards shocked at this rash and unnatural mandate, hoped, according to the superstitious doctrine of the times, to expiate the guilt, and to pacify his conscience and parental feelings, by rich donations to the church, and by other means which the superstition of the age suggested, at the tomb of St. Martin. But neither these, nor the accession of territory and power which he had acquired by the death of his brother Childebert, could exempt him from moral compunction, nor from bodily affliction. He was seized with a fever which he caught in hunting, of which he died in the fifty-first year of his reign, A. D. 562, A. D. 562. one year and a day after the death of Chramnes his son²⁵.

SECT. III.

History of France under the Four Sons of Clotaire I. and his Grandson Clotaire II., from A. D. 562. to A. D. 628.

CLOTAIRE, like Clovis, left four sons, who inherited his dominions. The kingdom of Paris fell by lot to Caribert, Orleans and Burgundy to Gontran, Soissons to Chilperic, and Austrasia to Sigibert.

Caribert, the eldest of them, enjoyed an unambitious and peaceful temper. His reign, which was scarcely six years, affords no events worthy of notice. They are almost insufficient even to enable Caribert's reign.

²⁵ Greg. Tur. lib. iv. c. 13—21.

A. D. 562. us to judge between the two very different characters ascribed to him by Gregory of Tours the historian, and by Fortunatus, a poet of those times¹. The former loads him with vices; the latter adorns his character with virtues. He appears to have been licentious, and to have exposed himself, by that kind of irregularity, to the highest censures of the church; but, in other respects, to have deserved the encomium of the poetical bishop of Poitou, of being gentle, just, and generous, a good scholar, and a friend of learning. As he left no sons, his kingdom of Paris was divided among his three surviving brothers. In that division, each of them wanted the city of Paris to fall to his share. Neither would yield it to the other; and they finally agreed that it should remain undivided, and that none of them should enter it on pain of losing his share. They sanctioned this treaty by a solemn appeal to three eminent saints².

Division of
his king-
dom.

The rude and restless tribes of Germany, but ill cemented to the French empire, were ready to take advantage of every change of administration to recover their independence. The tribes beyond the frontiers were no less inclined to incite them on such occasions to rebellion, or to invade the territories of those whom they did not fear, for the sake of plunder, and of signalising their martial skill and valour. The Abares, a remnant of the Huns, who with the consent of the Emperor had settled on the banks of the Danube, thinking this a favourable opportunity for such an enterprise, stirred up the Thuringians to revolt, and having joined them, proposed to subject some of the eastern provinces to their power.

War with
the Thuringians and
Abares;

¹ Greg. Tur. lib. iv. c. 26. Fortunat. lib. vi. carm. 4.

² Greg. Tur. lib. vii. c. 6.

Sigibert,

Sigibert, whose dominions were invaded; found ^{A. D. 562.} no difficulty in speedily raising a sufficient army, with which he hastened to repel the invaders. Scarcely twenty-seven years of age, and yet unknown, he was sensible how much his reputation and authority depended on the issue of his expedition: that friends and foes were both disposed to form their opinion of him from his first achievements; the one, whether he was worthy of their respect and confidence; and the other, whether they had reason to fear, or to offend him, with impunity. He studied therefore to exemplify to his troops, that conduct which he expected them to observe and maintain, and in the end he proved successful. Pleased with his attentions, and animated by the example of their royal leader, they attacked the plundering army of the Huns and Thuringians, drove them upon the bank of the Elbe, and pushed them to such an extremity that they sued for mercy and promised submission. This being all that Sigibert wanted, he yielded to their entreaties, and granted them peace³.

He did this the more readily, as he had just received information that his brother Chilperic had ^{with Chilperic} hostilely entered his territories. Soissons, the capital of Chilperic's kingdom, was inconveniently situated, betwixt Compiègne on the west, belonging to Caribert, and Rheims and Laon on the east and north, belonging to Sigibert. It was natural to desire an extension of territory on these quarters, but unreasonable to attempt it by force; and it was certainly unfair to seize Rheims in the absence of its proprietor. Sigibert hastened his return, and with his victorious army not only recovered Rheims, but in the heat of his indignation retaliated the injury

³ Fortunat. lib. vi. carm. 9.

A. D. 562. which he received, by seizing Soissons, and carrying off prisoner Theodebert his nephew, who had been left with the command of his father's capital. Sigibert's generous mind, however, sought no farther vengeance. Through the mediation of his other two brothers, for Caribert was still alive, he pardoned Chilperic, liberated Theodebert, on condition of his swearing never more to bear arms against him, and restored Soissons*.

Sigibert's
marriage
with Brunehaut.

Low marriages, adulteries, and concubinage, at this time generally prevailed; some of the French princes married their servants, gave the title of queen to more wives than one, and maintained a kind of seraglio at their court. Entertaining sentiments of higher purity and dignity, Sigibert resolved to act in a manner more worthy of his rank and character. Assured of the accomplishments of Brunechild, or Brunehaut, the daughter of Athanagilde king of the Visigoths in Spain, whose person, says Gregory, was handsome, and countenance comely, her manners decent and dignified, her judgment sound, and her conversation engaging, he sent Gogon, the mayor of his palace, to demand this princess in marriage. His valour, his virtue, his generosity, and the general state of his kingdom, being well known, his proposals were readily accepted; and the marriage was celebrated with magnificence and joy¹.

Chilperic's
marriage
with Galswinda;

Chilperic had already several wives; but he felt so strongly the propriety of his brother's conduct, that he determined to imitate it, and sent to demand in marriage Galswinda, the other daughter of Athanagilde. His character, however, was known to be unprincipled, and his court disorderly; his offer was therefore by no means acceptable. His ambassadors

* Greg. Tur. lib. iv. c. 23. 1 Id. Ibid. c. 27.

were instructed and authorised to obviate every difficulty, and promise that all persons disagreeable to the princess should be for ever removed from his court; and that she only should be queen, and publicly acknowledged as such on her entrance into his kingdom. She was extremely averse to the marriage, but on these terms was prevailed on to give her consent. He received her at Rouën, where the marriage was celebrated, and where she received an oath of allegiance from the subjects of the kingdom. This not appearing to have been then customary, was most probably the consequence of a special agreement, in order to satisfy her that Fredegonde particularly should not interfere in her government. All his professions and precautions, however, were vain. Fredegonde, a beautiful and artful woman, whom he had formerly taken to his bed from the lowest rank of life, still retained his affections, and found frequent opportunities of insulting the unhappy Galswinda. She complained, and entreated that she might be allowed to abandon all her privileges, and return into Spain. Chilperic seemed to pity and soothe her; but not long after she was found dead in her bed. At first he appeared to mourn her death, but in a short time placed Fredegonde as queen in her room.

A. D. 564.

who dying,
he marries
Frede-
gonde.
A. D. 567.

Report having gained credit that Galswinda had been strangled, her sister Brunehaut moved her husband Sigibert to avenge her death, and prevailed with Gontran king of Burgundy to join him. They invaded the kingdom of Soissons; and being too powerful for Chilperic, had almost stripped him of all his dominions, when he sued for peace, and obtained it, on condition that he should cede to Brunehaut all the cities and territories of Bordelois, le Limousin, le Querci, le Bearn, and le Bigorre, which

Is chastised
by Brune-
haut.

A. D. 567.

which had been settled on her late sister at her accession⁵.

The Lombards recover Italy.

In the mean time, the ambition of Alboin king of the Lombards was directed against Italy; and his eloquence and known valour roused the courage and hopes, not only of his own people, but of the neighbouring states. They flocked in crowds to his standard, and cheerfully offered him their services and their lives. The recall of Narses, the famous Imperial general, contributed to their success. As long as the Emperor Justinian lived, he respected the fidelity and valour of that general, and continued him in the government of Italy, which his wisdom and conduct had restored to the Empire. But Justin, jealous of his fame and power, listened to the accusations of extortion and oppression laid against him. The mandate of the Empress Sophia must have filled even an ordinary mind with indignation; upbraiding Narses with his former occupation in the palace as an eunuch, she commanded him to leave the exercise of arms to *men*, and return to his distaff.—“Yes,” said he, “I will spin her a thread, which she shall never unravel.” He retired to Naples, and secretly invited Alboin to invade Italy, assuring him that he should certainly conquer it⁶.

Recall of Narses.

A. D. 568.

Followed by his Lombards, and twenty thousand Saxons and other allies, Alboin entered Italy. Pavia cost him a very long siege; but in three years and a half, almost without bloodshed, he overran and subdued the whole kingdom, except Rome and Ravenna.

The Lombards invade France,

A conquest so easy and so rich, tempted the victorious army to attack the neighbouring provinces of France, in which they were at first successful. They

⁵ Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 20.

⁶ Paul Diac. lib. ii. c. 5.

defeated

defeated the Burgundians, and retired, loaded with plunder. On their return, which there was every reason to expect, the command of the army of Burgundy was given to Mummol, a man of great military reputation. He contrived to attack them in their passage through the mountains, killed many, and took the rest prisoners. This did not hinder fresh armies from renewing the attempt, which met a similar fate; and the vigilance, skill, and success of Mummol at last overawed and compelled them to desist.

A. D. 568.

but are repulsed.

While Gontran's forces were thus employed, Sigibert embraced the opportunity of reviving a claim which he had on the city of Arles, marched into it, and took possession of it by surprise. This was very unlike his usual conduct; and he soon after justly lost both the city, and the troops which were in it. They were besieged by a superior army, and being in want of provisions they found it necessary either to surrender or fight. They chose the latter; and no sooner had they left the city, and engaged the adverse army, than the citizens followed them with stones; several were killed, and many threw themselves into the Rhone, and were drowned. Such as escaped returned with shame, Gontran was satisfied, and made peace with his brother.

Sigibert takes Arles

and is defeated.

To this measure they were induced the more readily, as Chilperic had taken advantage of their hostilities, and sent his son Clovis with an army into the country of Touraine and Poitou. These lay at a great distance from the kingdom of Austrasia, and did not, on that account, admit of either so easy a defence or recovery. Chilperic did not imagine that his two brothers were to be so soon reconciled, as to be able to vindicate the injury which he had committed. He was totally under the influence of

Chilperic's forces

Frede-

A. D. 568.

Fredegonde; and she having extended her hatred of Galswinda to Brunehaut, and especially since the treaty of settlement in favour of the latter, was restless, and impatient to be avenged: She was somewhat gratified by the success of the present armament under Clovis the son of Chilperic, and by the capture of Tours and Poitiers; but that pleasure was of short duration.

unsuccessful
under
Clovis;

The armies which they had employed against one another, Sigibert and Gontran united under the command of Mummol, against Clovis; and in a very short time they retook Tours and Poitiers, and drove him out of the country almost without a single attendant^a.

successful
under
Theodebert;

A contest having arisen between the allied brothers about the erection of a new bishopric at Chateaudun, though it occasioned no hostilities, gave fresh encouragement to the resentment and hopes of the queen of Soissons. She had lost all confidence in Clovis, and urged Chilperic to disregard the vow which his eldest son Theodebert had taken when a prisoner at Soissons, never again to carry arms against his uncle Sigibert. Animated more with martial zeal than integrity, Theodebert was easily persuaded, and next spring took the field at the head of a numerous army. He met his uncle's general, Gondebaud, near Poitiers, and completely defeated him, ravaged Touraine, and conquered almost all the country which belonged to Sigibert on the Loire. Thence he marched into Guienne, pillaged the country, ruined churches and every building of eminence, and massacred men, women, and children, regardless of either rank or age.

A. D. 573-4.

Nothing could be more distressing to a prince of Sigibert's humanity, than such unprovoked cruelties

^a Greg. Tur. lib. iv. c. 42. 47.

exercised

exercised on his subjects. He had not hitherto employed any of his German troops in France; but now he judged it necessary, in order to chastise the aggressor, and put an end to so destructive a war. He ordered a very great army, composed of all the nations under his dominion, to assemble, and march directly to the banks of the Seine. A. D. 574

Chilperic was alarmed. He represented to Gontran, that so great an armament could not be intended against him alone; that their danger was common, and that it was prudent instantly to unite their forces in opposition to such an enemy. Gontran was persuaded. They took the field, and first endeavoured to prevent Sigibert's army from passing the Seine; he then sent to assure the king of Burgundy, that, if he persisted in disputing his passage, he would on succeeding, as succeed he must, pour all his forces on his dominions. Gontran was intimidated, and withdrew his troops. The king of Soissons, now deserted, was obliged to retreat, and keep within his intrenchments. Convinced that he was in the most imminent danger, he entreated peace. Sigibert, affected with the calamities of civil war, and with the unavoidable disorders and violence of his German troops, listened to his proposals. Theodebert was recalled, and all the places which he had taken were restored^a. The German troops, however, who expected not only the plunder of Chilperic's camp, but of his kingdom, were dissatisfied with so early and easy a termination of the war, and became mutinous. Sigibert advanced towards them on horseback, and with a firmness, and at the same time a gentleness peculiar to himself, threatened and soothed them. A few of the ringleaders were seized, and stoned to death in presence of the army,

are intimidated and withdrawn.

^a Grég. Tur. lib. iv. c. 49,

a singu-

A. D. 574.

a singular way of punishing soldiers. Order was restored, and the army marched back to Germany; but not without some devastation and plunder¹⁰.

A. D. 575.
The war renewed.

About a year afterwards Chilperic renewed the war. His message on that occasion to Gontran unfolds the secret cause of it in his own irascible and vengeful temper. "Come, my brother," said he, "let us meet, and having settled all our own differences, let us unite in waging war against Sigibert, our common enemy." Gontran seems to have remained neutral; but Chilperic entered Champagne, and carried desolation all over the country to Rheims.

Sigibert recalled his Germans, and gave the command of them to the generals Godegefile and Gontran Boson. Their campaign was attended with no great difficulty. Theodebert, deserted by a great body of his troops, ventured notwithstanding to engage in a pitched battle, and was found in the field dead, and covered with wounds, in the midst of the slain. Chilperic was deeply afflicted at this loss, and retreated with his surviving family to Tournay, resolving there to endure a siege. Sigibert easily became master of Paris, Soissons, and almost the whole of the country. He had invested Tournay, and nearly deprived Chilperic of all hope of relief, when he fell a sacrifice to the art and cruelty of Fredegonde¹¹. She engaged two assassins to murder him. "Here," said she, (giving them two poisoned arrows,) "here are the only means of delivering your king and country. In such a state, every thing is to be hazarded. If you are successful, and live, no reward can be too great for your service! If you die, it is in a great and good cause, and the reward which you merit shall be conferred

Sigibert
assassinated.

¹⁰ Greg. Tur. lib. iv. c. 49.

¹¹ Ibid. lib. v. c. 1. Fredegari, cap. 57.

A. D. 575.

"on your families." They accordingly went to Sigibert's camp, demanded an audience on pretence of business, and plunged their daggers in his breast. One of his attendants was also killed, and another wounded in attempting to defend him. The assassins were torn to pieces by his guards.

In the fortieth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign, Sigibert died in the career of prosperity and glory. Few princes have been more generally or justly regretted. It was his lot, rather than his natural disposition, to be frequently engaged in war. It was in his power, more than once, to have gratified his ambition with conquest; but he was magnanimous as well as valiant, and more ready to forgive than punish.

By the death of Sigibert the face of affairs was totally changed. The siege of Tournay was raised; Chilperic was relieved from danger and fear; and all his subjects returned to their allegiance. Queen Brunehaut, who had come to attend her husband and enjoy his prosperity, was arrested, and imprisoned with all her children. Childebert only was secretly carried off by Gondebaud, a faithful general of his late father, to Metz; and there on Christmas day, though scarcely five years of age, was proclaimed king.

Consequent change.

Fredegonde was highly gratified at the distress and captivity of her rival. Ambition succeeded to revenge. The desire of acquiring all Austrasia and Aquitaine gave new vigour to the counsels and armaments of Chilperic. Two armies were put in motion; the one commanded by Ruculenus, and the other by Merovæus, Chilperic's third son. Ruculenus died, as Gregory then bishop of Tours says, and Pere Daniel affirms, in consequence of having attempted to violate the sanctuary of St. Martin; and Merovæus, instead of acting with
the

A. D. 575.

Merovæus
marries
Brunehaut.

the energy expected against the family of Sigibert, married Brunehaut his dowager queen. He had seen her imprisoned at Paris; her distress excited his compassion, and her youth and beauty captivated his heart. Sensible of the advantages which her family, in their adversity, might derive from such a connection, she yielded to his solicitations, and was accordingly married to the step-son of her rival.

Chilperic was not merely filled with surprise and indignation, but was apprehensive that such a step must have been taken by the advice of some powerful partisans, and in the hopes of securing by these means the kingdom of Austrasia. He set off instantly for Rouen, where his arrival scarcely gave the new married couple time to take refuge in the church of St. Martin. Even the unprincipled and violent Chilperic venerated this sanctuary, and ventured not to violate its privileges. His superstition, stronger probably than his natural affection, restrained his wrath. After attempting several expedients in vain to entice them from their sanctuary, he at last swore solemnly, that he would not only do them no injury if they would trust themselves to his protection, but that if the marriage were otherwise legal¹², and it was found not to be contrary to the ecclesiastical canons for a nephew to marry an uncle's widow, he himself should confirm it. On this they ventured forth, and were graciously received. The king embraced them, and ate and drank with them; but a few days after, on setting out for Soissons he commanded Merovæus, now incapable of resisting him, to follow him to Soissons, and dismissed Brunehaut to her son's court at Metz.

¹² The Bishop of Rouen, Pretextatus, who married them, was next year, through the influence of Fredegonde, deposed and banished.—Greg. Tur. lib. xv. c. 18.

A. D. 575.

Brunchaut having recovered her liberty, was animated by ambition and resentment. She hoped, in her turn, to acquire the reins of government, and be able soon to humble her rival and oppressor. Finding her son surrounded with counsellors, Ranchin, Boson, Ursion, &c. who disregarded her advice and resisted her influence, she had the address to rouse them against Chilperic, and had nearly gratified her resentment by the capture of Fredegonde.

The king of Burgundy, interesting himself in the affairs of his nephew the young king of Austrasia, resolved to support him against the ambition of his uncle the king of Soissons. He assisted him in raising an army for the defence of his kingdom, and placed it under the command of Mummol. Merovee and Didier commanded Chilperic's army. They were defeated, and twenty-five thousand of their men were killed. Chilperic, in a rage, ascribed the loss of the battle to Merovee, ordered his hair to be cropped, and himself to be confined in a monastery: to crop the hair was the lowest degradation of a prince; and the means of rendering him for ever incapable of ascending the throne.

His hair is cropped, and he is confined;

This treatment of the heir apparent, in consequence of suspicion only, chagrin'd him extremely, and by sympathy engaged all those in his favour who were disaffected to his father's government. General Boson in particular, having fallen under the king's displeasure, had for some time past been obliged to shelter himself in the church of St. Martin. Judging this a favourable opportunity to form a powerful faction and gratify his resentment, he incited the prince to leave his monastery, and join him in his sanctuary at Tours. Merovee came; and arriving just as the bishop Gregory the historian was performing high mass, he prevailed on him to

escapes;

grant.

A. D. 573. grant him the communion bread. Complying with this request, and yet afterwards refusing the king's order to expel the prince from his asylum in the church, had nearly cost him his benefice; and all that was valuable to him in life. Gregory was extremely superstitious, entertained the highest notions of church privileges, and would by no means expel forcibly any refugee.

A. D. 577.

Meantime the prince and the king both earnestly supplicated the saint, each in his own favour; the one for protection, and the other for exclusion. Chilperic, prowling about, devised every expedient, and watched every opportunity for seizing his prey; yet dared not to violate the rights of the saint. One farther expedient remained, by which he hoped to do it with St. Martin's consent and approbation. He wrote him a letter, and sent it by the deacon, to be laid and left on the altar, requesting leave to drag Boson, Merovee's accomplice, from the church. He ordered a sheet of clean paper to be laid on the altar at the same time, on which he prayed, and hoped that the deceased saint would write an answer. After three days however, the paper was brought back to him clean as he had sent it. He was disappointed, but attempted no violence: he only prevailed in detaching Boson from Merovee, lest their united influence should conspire successfully against the peace of the kingdom. He made the former swear, that he would not, without his permission, leave the church of Tours; and Fredegonde even persuaded Boson to expose the prince his friend to assassination. The plan which was proposed and attempted, however, did not succeed; and Merovee soon after made his escape into the kingdom of Austrasia¹⁵.

¹⁵ Greg. Tur. lib. v. c. 24. Fredegarii, c. 78.

A. D. 577.

Bruneaut, informed of his arrival, was greatly agitated. She sincerely loved him; but could afford him no protection, as she was allowed no share in the administration of the kingdom. Her son's ministers judged it dangerous to the public peace and safety, even to permit his residence within their territories.

Hunted from one place to another, he came to the neighbourhood of Rheims. The citizens of Teroüenne, zealous in the service of Fredegonde, waited on him with the keys of their city, and an offer of risking their lives to serve and protect him. He accepted the offer; and indulged the hope with which they flattered him, that there were other places equally dissatisfied with his father's government, which would be ready to follow their example, and declare for him. An offer so unexpected filled the unsuspecting prince with joy, and he immediately set off for Teroüenne; but as he halted on the road with his few remaining attendants, to his astonishment he was hostily surrounded by the very people who had so cordially invited him to enjoy their hospitality and protection. Chilperic having been informed of the circumstance, hastened to the spot, anxious lest the royal fugitive should again escape; and seems to have felt a secret satisfaction on finding that he had already been put to death. This event afforded real joy to Fredegonde, as it advanced her children one step nearer to the throne.¹⁰

Is assassinated.

The prince Clovis now only remained to prevent the full gratification of her ambition; she endeavoured, therefore, by all means to remove him. She attempted, without success, to engage him in a conspiracy; but on trial he was found loyal and dutiful. She next endeavoured to engage Pro-

Plots of Fredegonde against Clovis

¹⁰ Greg. Tur. lib. v. c. 18.

A. D. 577.

vidence itself to effect his death. When an epidemical disease raged at Brenne, and carried off three of her own children, she sent for Clovis to that place, hoping that the same malady being communicated to him by infection, might prove fatal; but this also failed. Encouraging every report prejudicial to him, she now feigned to believe that the death of her three children was owing to poison administered by his direction. She seemed frantic with rage, seized his supposed accomplices, put them to the torture; and having extorted a confession suitable to her purpose, she presented it to the king. Clovis was instantly arrested, and hurried from the royal presence to the Chateau de Noisy, where he was assassinated. His mother Galswinda, no way involved with him, harmless, and at a great distance, guilty only of having been *Fredégonde's* predecessor and still surviving as a rival, was also accused of being his accomplice in poisoning the young princes, and put to death.

fatal to him
A. D. 580.

and to his
mother.

Mean policy
of Chil-
bert's mi-
nisters.

The family of Chilperic being thus reduced, led Childebert, the young king of Austrasia, to expect that he might one day succeed his uncle, and rendered it expedient to secure his favour. His other uncle, the king of Burgundy, had already acknowledged and solemnly avowed him his heir and successor. If Chilperic survived him however, it was probable, from his temper and usual conduct, that he would dispute the succession with his nephew. The prospect, though distant on both sides, deserved attention. Childebert, or rather his ministers, for he was not yet fully eight years of age, were solicitous to discover Chilperic's dispositions, and the more especially as he was subject to the influence of an artful and enterprising woman.

¹⁷ Greg. Tur. lib. y. c. 40.

Childebert pretended dissatisfaction with the king of Burgundy, complained by his ambassadors that he had forced from him that part of the city of Marseilles which had fallen by Caribert's death to the kingdom of Austrasia; that he thought it reasonable to reclaim it, and even to make reprisals if it were not peaceably restored, and requested Chilperic's friendship and assistance; to which he agreed. But when the same ambassadors claimed from him the city of Poitiers, which rightfully belonged to their master, he waved the demand, by telling them, "That he regarded their young sovereign as his son and heir, and that it was unnecessary for him to trouble himself about this small matter now, since the whole of his dominions must in the course of nature, soon descend to him."—This explanation was satisfactory. They insisted no further on Poitiers, but signed the treaty against the king of Burgundy, and departed.

A. D. 580.

This pitiful policy and ungenerous partiality were soon after duly chastised. Fredegonde became pregnant, and bare a son. In the uncommon and general joy which this occasioned, it was resolved to have the royal infant baptized at Paris. In the division of Caribert's dominions Paris was declared neutral, and it was solemnly decreed, that none of the three surviving brothers should enter it without consent of the other two, on pain of incurring the high displeasure of the three famous saints Polieucte, Martin, and Hilaire. The caprice and ambition of Fredegonde insisted on having her infant son baptized there. Chilperic seems to have been incapable of denying her any request, however unreasonable. In the present case, he was less afraid of the displeasure of his brother and nephew, than of the vengeance of these invoked tutelary saints. He devised therefore the following expedient, and

Chilperic's weakness,

A. D. 582.

A. D. 582.

and super-
stition.

trusted in its efficacy. Believing that the relics represented the saints themselves, he ordered those of many other saints to be carried in solemn procession before him into Paris, imagining them so many antidotes against the vengeance of those three saints whom he was likely to offend; or that he should, by thus acquiring so many more spiritual allies than he lost, sufficiently counteract the wrath of those other ghostly foes.

The partition treaty of Paris thus violated, provoked a general war. Several battles were fought, and many thousands killed, but no political change of any importance ensued.

Chilperic is
assassinated.

Soon after the peace, Chilperic's son Thierry, then about two years old, died; and not long after, he himself was assassinated. Having returned in the twilight from hunting, as he alighted from his horse some person unperceived stabbed him twice in the breast and belly. His own conduct was such as might have created him enemies capable of perpetrating the deed¹⁸, but an historian of those times hesitates not to ascribe his death to Fredegonde, in consequence of his discovery of her familiarity with his minister Landri¹⁹.

A. D. 584.

Devoted to his bodily appetites, governed by ambition and by Fredegonde, regardless of humanity, he died unlamented by the world. His lifeless corpse was deserted. Melulf bishop of Senlis alone had compassion enough to give it a decent burial. He is called the Nero and Herod of France, and like the latter especially, the butcher of his own family²⁰. His impiety was extremely offensive; yet his superstition, and the anxieties

¹⁸ Greg. Tur. lib. vi. c. 46.

¹⁹ *Gesta Regum Franc.* c. 35. Fredegarius imputes his death to Branehaut.

²⁰ Greg. Tur. lib. vi. c. 46.

which

which it excited, were mean and ridiculous. Taxes in kind were becoming customary. He levied a cask of wine (amphora) for every acre of vineyard, which was thought excessive, and the same rate for every slave and free man. He was fond of disputation with some of the bishops, as Gregory of Tours, concerning the Trinity; and ambitious of being an author, he composed some volumes; but even Gregory of Tours laughs at his verse. He attempted to add the four double Greek letters to the Gallic alphabet. A. D. 584.

Fredegonde was now dependent and helpless. Her avarice and ambition, her violence and cruelties, though exercised chiefly by means of the late king, were sufficiently known and detested. Childbert considered her as the murderer of his father; and Brunehaut, of her husband and sister. Her temper and character were known to Gontran also, and she had no reason to hope for his favour; but he was generous and friendly, patient and forgetful of injuries, and glad of an opportunity of doing good and being useful. She no sooner therefore resolved to commit herself and her infant son to his protection, than she found his counsel, his treasure, and his army, at her service. Fredegonde

He had just arrived, and entered Paris as her friend, when the king of Austrasia also appeared, and demanded admittance as her enemy. Childbert represented in vain, that he claimed as the heir of Sigibert a third part of that city; and in vain he besought his uncle to abandon a woman who was so notoriously unworthy of his regard, and without a doubt the murderer of some of their nearest and best relations. is protected Gontran simply replied, that as both his brothers, with whom the treaty of partition was made, were now dead, he claimed the sole possession of the city of Paris; and as to Fredegonde's character,

A. D. 584.

rafter, some other opportunity might offer for examining the truth of the accusations against her; and that he was determined at present to support and defend the helpless widow and her infant son²¹.

by Gontran.

Such zeal and firmness at this crisis effectually stemmed the tide of opposition against Fredegonde, and secured the favour of her own subjects. Some of the most eminent lords, and deputies from all the towns of the kingdom, attended her court, and swore allegiance to the young prince. The grievances of the people were redressed, and the whole kingdom was reduced to such order and peace by the advice and good offices of Gontran, that all ranks looked up to him with esteem and veneration.

A. D. 585.
Gonde-
baud's re-
bellion.

His attention was soon occupied with a different object. Gondebaud, believed by some to be the son of the late Clotaire, and by others to be an impostor, had been persecuted and banished from France, and had gone to reside at Constantinople. The three famous generals, Mummol of Burgundy, Boson of Austrasia, and Didier of Soissons, disgusted and offended at the conduct of their respective courts, the weakness of Childebert, the softness and simplicity of Gontran, and the wickedness of Fredegonde, conspired together to form a new sovereignty, and make Gondebaud's claim on his father's dominions the ostensible reason of their combination and war. They were likely to have succeeded too, had they been steady and faithful.

Gondebaud, dazzled with the prospect of a crown, readily accepted their invitation, collected a considerable treasure at Constantinople, landed at Marseilles, where he lodged it, and advancing with Mummol into the country at the head of some partizans, was proclaimed king.

²¹ Greg. Tur. lib. vii. c. 2—7.

Meantime Boson, tempted by the treasure left at Marseilles, seized the bishop with whom it was entrusted as a conspirator, and divided the spoil with his accomplice the governor of the city. Restless in the possession of his basely acquired wealth, Boson could neither meet fairly his fellow-insurgents, nor remain any time at the court of Austrasia, then at Auvergne. In passing through Burgundy, he was apprehended by Gontran, who, more desirous of getting hold of Mummol, lately his own general, and perceiving that Boson was capable of any treachery, offered him his liberty if he would engage to deliver that general into his hands. To this Boson agreed, and left his son as the pledge of his fidelity. He endeavoured accordingly to ensnare Mummol by the semblance of friendship, and afterwards to apprehend him by force, but did not succeed.

The king of Austrasia was now engaged in the conspiracy. He hated Fredegonde, and suspected her child not to be the son of Chilperic. He was highly dissatisfied with his uncle for having excluded him from Paris, and for so warmly countenancing and protecting her. He thought this therefore a good opportunity for embarrassing the affairs of both their kingdoms.

In consequence of the loss of his treasure, and the treachery of one of his principal officers, Gondobaud had retired to an island near Marseilles, to wait the issue, trusting that more favourable circumstances might revive his hopes, and retrieve his affairs.

The king of Austrasia declared for him, and placed him at the head of the army which Mummol commanded. Several cities beyond the Loire now readily received him as the son of Clotaire, and as the rightful heir of Chilperic and Gontran²².

²² Greg. Tur. lib. xxvii. c. 7—27.

A. D. 583

His success made him hope that the king of Burgundy would also acknowledge him; but his deputies were apprehended, and being put to the torture, discovered among other things the encouragement and assistance which his party had received from the court of Austrasia.

Gontran's
candour
and good
counsel.

Gontran's temper and conduct in this discovery command our admiration. He sent for Childbert his nephew, then about fifteen years of age, confronted him with these deputies, and instead of resenting his undutiful conduct, excused his youthful indiscretion; imputed the blame, where it was justly due, to his ministers, and studied to bias his mind by a treatment very different from what he might have expected. He introduced him again to his court and army as his heir, solemnised his acknowledgment of him by putting his sceptre formally and publicly into his hand; and, as a farther proof of his sincerity, ceded to him all the places now under the crown of Burgundy which had formerly belonged to Sigibert his father. "Is it your duty then," added he, "or your interest, either to oppose me yourself, as you have done repeatedly, or to encourage my enemies to conspire against my government? Their aim is not to ruin me only, but you also. Your counsellors, the bishop of Rheims, or even your mother herself, ought not to be trusted by you. Their ambition is prejudicial to your interest. By occasioning a distraction in the public affairs of your kingdom, they hope to acquire more influence and weight in the administration of government, and finally to render you a nominal king. Wherefore," he concluded, "beware of their counsels, and withdraw yourself from Gondobaud."

The

The reconciliation of the uncle and nephew quite disconcerted the pretender and his associates. They could no longer depend on the intrigues of the Austrasian court, nor expect any farther aid from that quarter. Their troops deserted them; Didier threw himself on the mercy of the king of Burgundy; and Mummol, by betraying Gondebaud, obtained his own pardon.

A. D. 585.

He pretended that, as Gondebaud had often wished for an interview with the king of Burgundy, he might now be gratified; that that honourable and generous prince was desirous of treating with him personally; and that it was the more advisable to embrace this favourable opportunity of negotiation, as they were unable to maintain the war much longer, and ought not to hazard their personal safety by an obstinate perseverance.

Gondebaud betrayed,

Gondebaud was surprised, and suspected treachery. But what could he do? He was entirely in the power of his officers. He remonstrated: with the most solemn oaths they assured him of safety. It was vain to resist. He accompanied them to the gate of the city Comminges, and as they descended the declivity on the outside, the Count Berry rudely pushed him over, and struck him with his spear. His coat of mail defended him, and recovering himself, he attempted to run back to the city, when Boson threw a large stone against his head and killed him. The soldiers insulted his very corpse, tore off his hair, the mark of his royalty, and fastening ropes to his feet, barbarously dragged him through the camp. The city was laid in ruins; Mummol invited to an entertainment was assassinated; and tranquillity again universally established²¹.

and killed.

Mummol assassinated.

²¹ Greg. Tur. lib. vii. c. 22—39.

Notwith-

A. D. 585.

Fredegonde
restricted.

Notwithstanding the countenance which Gontran was disposed to give Fredegonde as regent of the kingdom of Soissons, he judged it proper to limit her authority: he required her therefore to act by the advice of the first lords of the kingdom, to leave Paris, and reside at Vadréuil.

Her spirit did not easily brook such restraints. She attempted to shake off the yoke which galled her; but finding it hazardous, she changed her purpose, and tried rather to soften the king, and secure his favour by attention and respect. She invited him to stand godfather to her son Clotaire, who was born only four months before her husband Chilperic's death. She seems however to have been distrustful of him, lest he should take that opportunity of removing the child from her care and tuition; for she repeatedly delayed the ceremony, and at last so fretted him that he entertained serious suspicions that the child was not his brother's, and that this was her reason for withholding it from his sight, lest he should recognise its real father. He therefore solemnly declared, that he would no longer acknowledge him as his nephew, or as the heir of Chilperic, unless the fact were substantiated by satisfactory evidence.

Her child's
legitimacy
questioned;

This declaration gave Fredegonde the greatest uneasiness. Her character, her authority, her son's legitimacy and title to the crown, all now were questioned by one who was able to realise his declaration. From this state, the most dangerous to her natural and fondest hope, it became necessary to find immediate relief.

The customary and legal mode of removing such a doubt, was the solemn testimony of credible witnesses. The evidence however was not weighed, but depended on numbers, and the crowd of wit-
nesses

nesses requisite was usually proportioned to the importance of the subject, or rank of the person. The present was the most important question that could be agitated, and respected the very highest rank and source of dignity. Fredegonde produced three bishops, and three hundred other reputable persons who had access to observe her conduct, and were supposed able to attest her fidelity and innocence. By their testimony the legitimacy of her child was proved, and the king of Burgundy declared himself satisfied²⁴.

A. D. 585.
is legally
attested.

Fredegonde repented the suspicion of Gontran, and the trouble which it had given her: she was believed to have repeatedly hired assassins to kill him²⁵, and no doubt seems to have been entertained that Pretextatus the bishop of Rouen, who had been patronised by him, was assassinated by her order. She had never forgiven that bishop for martyring and countenancing Merovee and Brunehaut, nor the manner in which he had more lately demanded the justice of being replaced in his bishopric by the king of Burgundy. He was stabbed in the choir of his own church on a sabbath-day, during the exercise of his holy office.

Her repentment.

Justly shocked at such a crime, Gontran sent three bishops to ascertain the fact and the circumstances attending it, and to demand that the criminal should be delivered up to justice. Fredegonde however ventured to oppose him. She represented to the lords of her son's council, that the king of Burgundy had become extremely officious; that he had no right surely to intermeddle with their administration, far less to make so peremptory a demand; that if a crime were committed, they, as the council of the young prince

²⁴ Greg. Tur. lib. viii. c. 9.

²⁵ Ibid. c. 44.

her son, were the only legal and proper judges; and therefore, that they ought with spirit to reject any impertinent stretch of foreign authority.

Respect and veneration for his character and intentions, had given the king of Burgundy much influence in the council and government, and over the subjects generally of his late brother, which, however agreeable and useful at first, became offensive to those in power. The queen's address on this occasion excited and confirmed their prejudices against him.

The lords of council entered readily into her views. "We admit," said they to the deputies of Burgundy, "that the crime is committed, and is horrible: that it ought to be inquired into, and that the criminal, whatever be his rank, ought to be suitably punished: but we are competent to judge of these things, and need not the interposition of a foreign tribunal." The farther threats of the Burgundian envoys were disregarded, and the subsequent feeble attempts to execute them were vain. The queen regent completed her triumph, and restored Melantius to the bishopric of Rouen, which he had formerly enjoyed during the banishment of Pretextatus²⁵.

A. D. 590. A deep plot which she had laid against the lives both of Gontran and Childebert was happily discovered, and its execution prevented, by the death of the principal conspirators²⁶. She next induced Wareg, count of Brittany, to invade the territories of the king of Burgundy; and prevailed on one of the generals whom the king sent against the invaders, to desert and betray the other, while the count, profiting thereby, cut to pieces the army which they commanded²⁷.

This

²⁵ Greg. Tur. lib. viii. c. 31.

²⁶ Vally.

²⁷ Greg. Tur. lib. xi. c. 9—12. Soon after this, Gregory of Tours concludes his History, written in very indifferent Latin,

This was the last war in which Gontran was engaged. Having spent the four following years in peace, he died at the age of sixty, having been thirty years king of Orleans and Burgundy.

A. D. 593.

Gontran's death,

He was one of the best of men: his friends and foes both respected and abused his goodness. Yet he sometimes shewed them, and especially Childebert his nephew, that he wanted neither wisdom nor power, if he had chosen to exercise them. On the whole, however, his lenity encouraged licentiousness, more than it procured respect.

and character.

Childebert, long styled and declared his uncle's heir and successor, took possession of his dominions without opposition. This, instead of satisfying, increased his ambition: being determined to be sole master of France, he pretended that he ought to avenge the death of his father, and punish the frequent attempts made on his own life; and that, as there was reason to doubt the legitimacy of Clotaire's birth, it became necessary to prevent Fredegonde from interfering any farther in the affairs of government.

Childebert succeeds.

His ambition.

He entered the country near Soissons with a great force, and fearless of the enemy, the horses of his army were set loose to pasture with bells at their necks, as was then the practice, while the soldiers, in scattered parties, were pillaging the country. On being informed of this, Fredegonde supplied her want of strength by stratagem, and advanced at the head of her army in the night: she placed her cavalry in the van with bells²⁸, and ordered the men

containing the fullest and best account of France till this period; but it exhibits a wonderful degree of credulity and superstition.

²⁸ *Gesta Regum Franc.* c. 3. The use of the bells was to discover the horses in woody pastures. A considerable fine (600 denarii) was imposed on the thief of one of these bells. See the Saxon laws, article 27.

A. D. 593.

The battle
of Troncy,
or Droici.Childebert's
death,
A. D. 596.and charac-
ter.Frede-
gonde's
success.

to carry large branches of trees in their hands. Those of Childebert's army who remained in the camp were asleep; and the centinels were careless; they readily supposed the bells to be those of their own horses pasturing near them, and mistook the thick branches, while it was yet twilight, for a wood. Suddenly the wood opened in the center, the infantry advanced, forced the camp, and made dreadful slaughter. Thirty thousand are said to have fallen, the greatest part of them of the Austrasian army²⁹. Profiting by this success, she marched over the country, raised contributions, put all to fire and sword that opposed her, and returned to Soissons loaded with immense booty. Childebert never recovered this severe disaster, nor did he long survive it; he died in the 26th year of his age, and 20th of his reign. However promising, his temper and character were scarcely formed. He was active and ambitious, but capricious, and fond of war. He left two sons, who inherited his dominions: Theodebert, almost eleven, succeeded to the kingdom of Austrasia; and Thierri, about nine years of age, to that of Orleans and Burgundy. Their grandmother Brunehaut was entrusted with their education, and with the regency of the empire.

Thus all France came under the government of two women, equally ambitious of power, and jealous of each other. Both enterprising, and zealous to signalise themselves, they did not wait for any great occasion of rupture between the two states which they governed. They hated each other, and glowed mutually with the desire of victory and triumph. They both raised an army; the queen of Soissons was the most forward, took possession of Paris, and

²⁹ Fredegarii, c. 14. Paul Diac. lib. iv. c. 4.

ravaged

1. ravaged the country along the Seine. Brunehaut hastened thither with her army; a battle ensued near Laon, and the carnage was such as might have been expected from the fury and obstinacy of the two leaders. Fredegonde however obtained a complete victory²⁰.

A. D. 596.

2. In the very height of her prosperity Fredegonde died, above fifty years old, having been thirty years a queen, and having ruled, even during the life of her husband, with the most arbitrary sway. Unprincipled, proud, and dauntless, she executed her purposes without the smallest regard either to religion or humanity. If her enterprises were great, the means of accomplishing them were generally execrable. We may admire her discernment and power of understanding, but must detest the principles and dispositions of her heart. She sacrificed to her ambition a king, two queens, two princes, and people of inferior rank without number.

A. D. 597.
Her death

and
character,

3. In her originally low state she might have proved a base woman. Her elevation to a throne displayed on a greater scale the vices of which she was capable, and furnished her more abundantly with the means of indulging them. She left one son, Clotaire, who survived and succeeded his cousins. No event could have been more welcome to her rival. In an earlier period of life, Brunehaut might have wished to humble her, but now she was content to survive her, the queen-regent of a vast empire. Desirous of peace, she employed her influence to secure it; but her subjects, and especially the great lords of the kingdom, submitted ungraciously in that rude age, and contrary to the spirit of their laws, to a female administration. Her grandson Theodebert advancing to manhood, and eager to

²⁰ Fredegarii, c. 17. Gesta Franc. c. 37.

A. D. 597.

sway the sceptre of his own kingdom, could no longer endure that she should engross all authority and power. The opposition growing formidable, and finding herself almost entirely deserted, she became justly apprehensive of her personal safety, and escaped to the court of Burgundy, the residence of Thierry her other grandson.

A. D. 600.

He received her cordially; listened to her complaints and insinuations against his brother and his ministers; respected her counsel, and allowed her a considerable share in the administration of his kingdom. He appears to have been affectionate, but unambitious, indolent, and addicted to the gratification of his appetites. All this she encouraged. She most willingly relieved him from the fatigue of business, and transacted it herself. She changed his ministers, and governed his kingdom. Her only difficulty was to rouse him to war. Desirous of being avenged on the court of Austrasia for their late conduct towards her, when other arguments seemed insufficient to move Thierry, she employed one which, if false, was most extraordinary for a female, and a mother. "He," said she, "whom you regard as your brother, is not the son of your father the late king, but of a poor gardener, and was imposed on your father as his son."

Her insinuations and influence at length prevailed. But the assembling of the army and of its leaders, without the counsel of the lords of Burgundy, frustrated her plan, and ruined her favourite, Protade, whom she had raised to the mayorship of the palace. He was accused of having imposed on his master, and of embroiling the nations. The sedition became general in the camp, and the soldiers enraged, at last surrounded his tent, and tore him in pieces.

Death of
Protade.

³¹ Fredegarii, c. 19. Pasquier Recherches, liv. v. c. 16.

Thierry

Thierri witnessed the scene, and trembled for himself. Averse naturally from war, he was now more desirous than ever of peace. A negotiation was effectual, peace was restored, and the army dismissed.

A. D. 600.

The two brothers, however, were perpetually quarrelling through the instigation of their grandmother, and came at last to engage in a pitched battle in the plain of Tolbiac. Twice the Austrasians were defeated, and an incredible number of them slain. Theodebert was taken prisoner, and soon after, with an infant son, put to death²². Brunehaut was avenged, and Thierri united under him the kingdom of Austrasia to that of Burgundy.

A. D. 612.

He did not enjoy long this extensive empire. He was seized next year with a dysentery, a distemper very frequent in those times, of which he died in a few days, in the 26th year of his age, and the 17th of his reign²³.

A. D. 613.

He left four sons, of whom Sigibert the eldest was scarcely eleven years of age. Brunehaut caused him to be immediately proclaimed king, and hoped that she should be allowed to act as regent; but she was detested by the lords of both kingdoms.

Sigibert
king;

The sons of Thierri were all legally capable of succeeding their father; but being illegitimate, they had no powerful alliance to support them. Clotaire, the son of Fredegonde, the king of Soissons, in opposition to them offered his claim to the whole French empire, and advanced with a great army to secure it.

Brunehaut endeavoured to raise an army, to meet him in the field; but her officers being alienated from her, and already engaged to him, betrayed her. Almost all, indeed, preferred a foreign

²² Fredeg. c. 37.²³ Ibid. c. 39.

A. D. 613.

is killed.

Brunehaut
is put to
death with
indignity.Her charac-
ter.

prince to her regency. Her troops, unsupported by their officers, were easily routed; Sigibert and one of his brothers were slain; the other two were saved by the humanity of the conqueror. Brunehaut was discovered and arrested. She was accused of the death of ten kings, including their sons, who were generally honoured with the royal title; various other crimes, and particularly civil wars which she had raised and fomented, with all their consequences, were laid to her charge.

She was first exhibited as a spectacle over all the camp, and exposed to the insults of the soldiers. Then affixed to the tail of an untrained horse, she was dragged and torn to pieces, and at last thrown into the fire; experiencing all the indignity and cruelty that an incensed people, and the son of Fredegonde, her rival and inveterate enemy, could invent and execute³⁴.

She was certainly ambitious to excess, and hesitated at no means to accomplish her designs. At the same time, many things appear to have been laid to her charge on the mere ground of suspicion and conjecture. Her natural temper was probably vitiated by that train of events in which she was involved after the death of her husband Sigibert. Her jealousy of Fredegonde, her fear of Chilperic, and the natural strength of her passions, drove her into the most foolish schemes of policy, and into the most unjustifiable measures for executing them. Some of the mangled members of her body were interred in the church of the abbey of St. Martin at Autun, where a monument was erected to her memory. Besides churches, monasteries, and hospitals, there are several noble castles and causeways which still retain her name³⁵.

³⁴ Fredeg. c. 42.

³⁵ Velly rather vindicates her character, tom. i. p. 195.

A. D. 613.

Clotaire II.
sole monarch
of France.

THE accession of Clotaire gave peace to the empire. He had no rival to contend with, and his own temper was peaceful. He allowed each of the three kingdoms to retain a mayor of the palace, as a vestige of royalty, and mark of distinction. Garnier was appointed mayor of Burgundy, Radon of Austrasia, and Gondeland of Soissons or Neustria, for life.

The king applied himself with zeal and judgment to the discharge of those duties of his high office which were calculated to advance the peace and prosperity of his subjects. He assembled a council of the nation at Paris, where bishops, lords, and inferior vassals sat together, to deliberate on the affairs of the state. They altered and accommodated former laws to the present times; they devised and framed new statutes adapted to new occurrences; and the king appears to have enjoyed the liberty of modifying them³⁶.

Council of
Paris.

To prevent simony, which appears to have been exceedingly frequent at this period, they ordained, that, on the death of a bishop, the metropolitan should assemble the clergy of the province, who, together with the clergy and people of the city in which the vacancy had happened, should elect a new pastor. The king, in confirming this regulation, added, that an order of the prince to that effect should precede the ordination. They abolished all the late imposts which were reckoned oppressive. They ordained that none but men of property should be judges in the district where their estates lay; and in case they abused their office, that their lands and effects should be confiscated, and applied to indemnify those whom they had injured. They declared that no secular judge could either condemn or

³⁶ Preface to the Salic Laws, tom. i. Concil. Gall.

A. D. 613.

punish any of the clergy, without the knowledge and consent of his bishop; and that any of the clergy who should have a recommendation from the nobles only, might be rejected by the bishop, but on producing one from the king, that he must be accepted and favoured. They also renewed the former prohibitions of incestuous marriages.

Clotaire's
great error.

But these and other good acts of Clotaire's administration were insufficient to cover the injustice of his original usurpation of the kingdom of Austrasia, or to repair his error in purchasing the services of the mayors of these kingdoms, by granting them their office for life. He obtained by it an addition of empire for himself, but on that fatal condition he laid the foundation of a new dynasty, which was afterwards to ruin and extinguish his own race.

The officers of the palace, originally the king's servants, rose in process of time to the highest rank and authority in the state. The mayor of the palace was at first the oldest or most confidential servant of the royal family. He superintended all the other servants, and in the king's name summoned his vassals to the assembly or to the field, where he came to head them in the absence of the king. He gradually acquired the command of the army, and took the lead in the administration of civil and military affairs.

Hitherto mayors of the palace had been appointed by the king, and dependent on his pleasure. Garnier would not agree to betray Brunehaut and the kingdom of Burgundy to Clotaire, till he confirmed him for life in the mayorship. Radon demanded and obtained it in Austrasia, for a similar reason. Whatever was the ground of Gondeland's settling on him for life. What they obtained as a condition

condition or reward, their successors claimed as a right. Their power became absolute, and proved the ruin of the Mérovingian kings. They were not now appointed by the king, but chosen by the nation ³⁷. A. D. 613.

To disburden himself from the cares of so extensive an empire, and to secure it the more easily to his family, as well as to gratify the people with a resident prince, Clotaire gave Austrasia to his eldest son Dagobert, with the title of king. He retained some of the towns and territories which usually belonged to that kingdom, not only as a token that he could give or withhold as he chose what he considered his own, but because he thought these places generally lay more contiguous to Burgundy and Neustria than to Austrasia. Dagobert after some time murmured; some of the principal bishops and lords interceded, and the king yielded to him the sovereignty of the whole kingdom. A. D. 622.

The tributary states of Germany observing the peaceful, or as they supposed unwarlike disposition of Clotaire, and especially of Dagobert, to whose dominions they were chiefly attached, judged this a favourable opportunity for asserting their independence. The Saxons attacked Dagobert's army and defeated it; nor did they cease their ravages, till Clotaire himself arrived with a fresh army on the banks of the Weser. His arrival animated his own people, and damped the spirits of the enemy: his example particularly roused his army to surmount every obstacle, and fearless of danger, to rush forward as to certain victory. While the A. D. 625.

³⁷ Gest. Regum Franc. c. 36. especially c. 45. Fredeg. c. 54. 101. 105. Aimoin. lib. iv. c. 15. Eginhart, c. 48. Palquier Recherch. liv. x. c. 23, 24. shews in some instances that Aimoinus is not to be fully credited, especially respecting Brunehaut.

A. D. 625.

Saxon leader recognised and insulted him from the opposite bank, he put spurs to his horse, and dashed into the river, accompanied by a few attendants. The army instantly followed. On reaching the other side he personally attacked the duke, and having cut off his head, held it up on a spear. This inspired the troops with fresh ardour. Their valour completed the victory, overawed the neighbouring states, and secured a lasting peace to the empire³⁸.

This was the last important service which Clo-
taire performed; for in a few months he died, in the
A. D. 628. forty-fifth year of his reign and age,

SECT. IV.

The History of France under Dagobert and his Successors to the End of the Merovingian Race, from A. D. 628. to A. D. 751.

Dagobert
and Ari-
bert.

In a rude age, custom and law are easily set aside by violence. The sons of former kings of France appear to have acted by some rule. The immediate successors of Clovis and Clotaire first divided their dominions equally among them. The eldest only of the grandchildren of these two monarchs succeeded each his own father. If there was any rule, it had been repeatedly contested and evaded. The line of inheritance does not appear yet distinctly marked in the French empire.

Clotaire II. left two sons; Dagobert, whom he had already established in Austrasia, and Aribert. From the precedents of the sons of Clovis and Clo-

³⁸ *Gesta Franc. c. 41.*

taire I., these two brothers ought to have divided their father's kingdom equally betwixt them; but Dagobert no sooner heard of his father's death, than he took measures for securing the whole empire to himself. Persuasion, interest, and a great army, with which he marched to Rheims, procured for him there the almost unanimous consent of the nation*. By the counsel and influence of some of the principal men, however, he afterwards gave his brother the kingdom of Aquitaine, on condition that he relinquished every other claim. Aribert was satisfied, but scarcely enjoyed his kingdom two years, when both he and his infant son dying, Dagobert was left the unrivalled monarch of France.

A. D. 628.

Aribert king
of Aquitaine dies,
A. D. 630.

As long as Arnoul, bishop of Metz, continued his minister, Dagobert governed with superior dignity and wisdom. The laws were revered, justice was strictly and impartially administered, order and peace were universally maintained, and he reigned in the hearts of his people. But in progress of time, and after the venerable Arnoul retired, he indulged in licentious and expensive pleasures, and became more regardless of virtue, of justice, of the interests of his subjects, and of his own happiness. His various and luxurious pleasures exhausted his treasury: he imposed new and heavy taxes on his people; they blamed unjustly Pepin the mayor of his palace, and conspired against his life; but that prudent and able minister, though deserted even by his master, vindicated his character, and maintained his station with safety and credit.

Dagobert
governs
with wisdom.

The eastern part of the empire, far distant from Paris, which Dagobert had chosen as the seat of his government, was exposed to frequent incursions and commotions. While the seat of the Austrasian

The Sclavonian war.

* Fredeg. c. 56. Gesta Dagob. c. 15.

govern-

A. D. 630. government was at Metz, the people of that country being more under the eye of administration, were overawed more easily by prompt exertion, and felt more interest in the king, whose dignity and valour they often witnessed. Now they paid tribute or taxes they scarcely knew to whom, and had frontiers to defend against the inroads of neighbouring states, for an empire from which they received no regular or steady support; they were disposed to cast off the yoke of France. Some of them feebly resisted the incursion of the Sclavonians, encouraged by the skill and valour of Samon a French merchant, whom they made king; and others took the opportunity of hostilities with that people, actually to revolt.

Samon.

After repeated endeavours to reduce these rebellious tribes, Dagobert at last resolved, in order to gratify them and secure their future allegiance, to send Sigibert his son, young as he was, being but three years of age, to Metz, with the title of king of Austrasia; accompanied with Cunibert bishop of Cologne, and Adalgise duke of the palace, as his ministers. Nothing could be so acceptable to that part of the empire, or contribute more to the establishment of general order and tranquillity.

A. D. 633.

Sigibert
king of
Austrasia.

Clovis king
of Neustria
and Burgundy.

On the birth of a second son named Clovis, the people of Burgundy and Neustria requested the king to settle his inheritance also during his own lifetime; and that he should not merely appoint Clovis to be their king, but bind Sigibert and his nobles in the most solemn manner, that they should never on any account interfere with the territories settled on him. These precautions they hoped would prevent the animosities, disorders, and cruelties, which had taken place on the death of former kings. Dagobert consented, and formally divided the empire betwixt his two sons, reserv-

ing the whole sovereignty to himself during his life^a. A. D. 633.

The reduction of the Gascons and Bretons, who again attempted to render themselves independent, chiefly occupied his attention from this time till his death. He was carried off by a dysentery at Epinay, about the thirty-sixth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. His death was much regretted by his subjects; for though he had become more sensual and expensive in the latter part of his reign, yet his people generally enjoyed the blessings of justice and peace under him, and continued to esteem him, and to respect his memory^b.

Death of
Dagobert.
A. D. 638.

FRANCE was now a great empire, extending from the Elbe to the Pyrenees. The internal peace which it had enjoyed during the preceding reigns, gave leisure for improvement; and the intercourse with other nations introduced a desire of cultivating the arts. The Italian expeditions, though unsuccessful in a military view, were the means of diffusing wealth over the nation. The soldiers who did return, were loaded with spoil. Fairs, and travelling merchants, became frequent. Samon, one of these merchants, gave such proofs of his skill and valour in defending his property among the Sclavonians, against the predatory incursions of some of the neighbouring tribes, that they solicited and advanced him to be their king. Eloy, originally a goldsmith, made himself famous at court by his ingenuity, and curious workmanship in jewellery and

^a Fredeg. c. 76.

^b Fredegair, the only original author to be depended on after Gregory of Tours, leaves us here. His first continuator is extremely superficial; his second, &c. are more full, but partial. The writer of *Gesta Regum Francorum* (Aimoinus) is fabulous, and a flatterer of the rising Carlovingian race.

A. D. 638.

precious metals. When he came to court he wore a belt set with diamonds, which at that time drew much attention. He made a chair of solid gold for Clotaire II., and a throne entirely of the same metal for Dagobert. He was afterwards consulted in affairs of state, became a bishop, and at last a saint.

A considerable Levant trade was carried on by the maritime cities in the south of France, in consequence of the negotiations with the Emperors of Constantinople. The French empire, on the whole, was in a flourishing state. The dignity and power of the Merovingian family were at their height; and their history henceforth is the history of their decline and fall.

SIGIBERT II. AND CLOVIS II.

Conduct of
the Mayors.

WE have already seen the privileges, which Clotaire II. fatally conferred on the mayors of the palace. Their power and privileges increased during the following long minorities, till they eclipsed the splendor of royalty itself, and finally occupied the throne. Ambition and self-interest were the only principles of their administration. They trained up the young princes in shameless inactivity, prevented them from intermeddling with public affairs, and, instead of occupations and sentiments becoming their high rank, studied to relax, enfeeble, and debase both their bodies and minds. Supine or selfish, no one ventured to remonstrate or interfere. The mayors acting as viceroys, seemed absolute; and took care to avoid and neglect calling those annual assemblies of March, which had been accustomed to limit the power of the king and his ministers, and to regulate and determine the great interests of the nation.

Pepin

Pepin the first died justly regretted, after having faithfully divided the moveable property of the late king between his two sons and their mother, according to the Ripuary law. By that law the widow was allowed a third of all that had been acquired by her husband⁴. A. D. 638.

Grimoalde, Pepin's son, aspired to his father's place, and obtained it. As it was formerly granted by Clotaire for life, it seemed now hereditary; this at least became one strong precedent. But Grimoalde was not satisfied: his influence over Sigibert his sovereign was so great, that he ventured to propose to him the adoption of his son, if he failed to have heirs of his own body; and Sigibert is said to have actually adopted Childebert, the mayor's son, and afterwards to have revoked the deed on the birth of Dagobert by his own queen⁵.

Sigibert's gratitude to heaven for this son, increased his religious disposition; and that he might freely indulge it, he thought it necessary to withdraw from the business of the world. This threw almost the whole administration of government into the hands of the mayor, and added much to his credit and authority. The king trusted in him with implicit confidence; and on finding himself dangerously ill, he committed Dagobert, now eight years of age, to the care of that officer, whose interest and ambition so plainly threatened the young prince with danger.

Sigibert died after reigning upwards of thirty years, for the period is not satisfactorily determined; and Dagobert succeeded without any appearance of opposition. The treachery, however, was only delayed, in the hope that it might be committed after-

Death of
Sigibert.
A. D. 655.
Dagobert
king.

⁴ Tit. 37. art. 2.

⁵ Vita Sigiberti regis. Gest. Franc. c. 43.

A. D. 655.

Is banished
by Grimo-
alde's trea-
chery.

Childeric
king of
Austrasia.

Clovis of
Neustria.
A. D. 660.

Clotaire III.
Childeric II.
of Austrasia.

Thierry,
A. D. 668.

wards with more secrecy and safety. Not many months elapsed before the mayor gained a sufficient party over to his scheme, and though he ventured not to put the young king to death, he pretended that he was dead, and made a public funeral procession to make it be more generally believed. He caused his hair to be shaved, and committed him to Didon bishop of Poitiers, in order to be transported to Scotland or Ireland. After many wanderings this unfortunate prince returned to France towards the end of the reign of Childeric II., and obtained a settlement from that king on the borders of the Rhine⁶. Grimoalde having thus disposed of him, produced his own son Childebert as the adopted son and heir of Sigibert; and by many he was received with acclamations and joy, though the greater part of the people viewed him with indignation. Their discontent and numbers increasing with reflection, they rose in arms, dethroned Childebert, and threw his father into prison, where he died; knowing nothing of the dishonoured wandering prince, they placed Childeric II. the son of Clovis of Neustria, on the throne of Austrasia.

Clovis himself, very little distinguished either by his virtues or his vices, died about the same time, having reigned sixteen years: and was succeeded by his eldest son Clotaire III. in Neustria and Burgundy, and by Childeric II. in Austrasia.

As little celebrated as his predecessor, Clotaire reigned about eight years, when he also died.

Thierry, the third son of Clovis, was immediately called to the throne by Ebroin alone, the mayor of the palace; who ambitious, insolent, and now absolute, oppressed the people, sold justice, and took every opportunity of humbling the nobles, by keeping the

⁶ P. Dan, tom. i. p. 308.

A. D. 668.

king secluded from them all. On Thierri's accession he not only neglected to assemble the clergy, nobles, and people, as usual, lest they might have proposed a new mayor, or interfered with his authority; but he debarred those who were intending to pay their respects to the new sovereign from approaching him. This roused a general indignation; the people armed, and threatened with fire and sword every one who did not immediately join them against Ebroin. Their rage spread universally, and the guilty minister had scarcely time to escape to a sanctuary; where his life was with difficulty spared, on condition that his hair should be instantly shaved, and he himself shut up in a monastery for life.

Ebroin escapes.

Thierri, endeavouring to restrain this violence against his minister, exposed himself to the resentment of the people. They judged him unworthy to reign over them, who had accepted the throne without their consent, and would have persisted in supporting and protecting so tyrannical a violator of the constitution as Ebroin. Childeric of Austrasia too felt an interest in fomenting this rebellion. He advanced at the head of a powerful army, to the aid of the rebels; who dethroned Thierri, shaved off his hair, ordered him to the abbey of Saint Denis, and invited Childeric to unite the dominions of Neustria and Burgundy with those of Austrasia.

Thierri dismissed.

The states of the kingdom on this occasion presented to him the following articles, on the observance of which they insisted, as necessary to the welfare of the state:

1st, That he should disannul the several statutes which had been enacted and executed in

Claim of the states,

A. D. 668. the three kingdoms, contrary to ancient laws and customs.

2dly, That the courts and judges of the three kingdoms should regulate their decisions in each, not by the laws or customs of another, but by those only of the respective states.

3dly, That the governors of provinces should be natives, or real subjects of the kingdom within which they held their jurisdiction.

4thly, That the administration of the whole empire should never be entrusted to one person only, as it had been to Ebroin, but that the various offices of state should be open and accessible to all.

Childeric
sole monarch
of France.

Childeric was an imprudent and weak prince. His administration was respectable only while it was under the direction of Leger bishop of Autun. Regardless of merit, and subject to jealousy, he requited good with evil. He listened to insinuations against his minister, imagined that he was plotting his ruin, and in a fit of intoxication scarcely spared the life of the bishop.

His conduct
to Saint
Leger;

and Bodil-
lon.

Bodillon, one of his nobles, also, having ventured to represent to him the danger of levying a tax which he had imposed, was ordered by the arbitrary and furious monarch to be tied to a post, and whipped. The whole order, indignant at the mandate, conspired against him, surrounded him in his palace, and in their rage slew him, his queen, and Dagobert his infant son. Another son, Daniel, who afterwards came to the throne under the name of Chilperic, escaped^{*}.

Is slain,
A. D. 673.

Inter-reign.

A general anarchy of some weeks followed Childeric's death. No one presumed to take the direction of public affairs, or attempted to repress with authority the general disorder and vio-

^{*} Fredeg. Contin. c. 95. Vit. Sⁱ Leodegarii, c. 5, 6.

lence.

lence. Every one seemed to abandon himself to the gratification of his own personal resentments, without regard to law, or concern for the public weal.⁹ A. D. 673.

At last Thierri II. son of Clovis II., who on Childeric's accession had retired, or been banished to the monastery of Saint Dennis, came forward, supported by a respectable number of friends, and re-assumed the title and authority of king. The peaceable and well-disposed to the laws and constitution of the realm flocked to his standard; Leger, the minister of the late king, offered him his counsel and services; others were drawn to him by ambition, and among the rest came Ebroin, hoping to recover his former office and power. Finding himself neglected, he suddenly disappeared. He went to Austrasia, and having persuaded his friends there that Thierri was dead, he exhibited a child whom he named Clovis, as the son of the late Clotaire III. and the only rightful heir of the French dominions. He was believed; a considerable army was raised and placed under his command; Clovis was proclaimed king, and without delay he marched with his troops to Paris, hoping to surprise Thierri; ravaged the country as he passed through it, and gratified his army with plunder. Thierri II. restored;

An adversary so active and powerful forced Thierri to an accommodation. He agreed to constitute Ebroin mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy; and Ebroin agreed to abandon the young man whom he had suborned as king in Austrasia.¹⁰ is forced by Ebroin to accept of him as mayor.

Restored to his former high office, Ebroin began the exercise of it with publishing a general act of

⁹ Vit. S^ti Leodegarii, c. 7.

¹⁰ Ibid. c. 8.

indemnity,

A. D. 673.

indemnity, as far as concerned himself; but under the mask of benevolence, justice, and zeal for the king and constitution, he gratified his own revengeful and cruel spirit. In searching after and punishing the murderers of the late Childeric, he plainly thirsted after and shed the blood of those who were, or whom he supposed to be, his own enemies; and he cruelly persecuted, and at last beheaded, his rival, the venerable bishop of Autun.

His severity.

His death.
A. D. 687.

After an administration of five and twenty years, always rigorous, and at last intolerable, he was assassinated by Ermanfrid, whom he had first injured, and then doomed to death¹¹.

Pepin d'Heristal duke of Austrasia

While Ebroin was thus incensing the people by his severities in Burgundy and Neustria, Pepin le Gros, also called d'Heristal, from his palace of that name, was rendering himself highly popular and powerful, by the prudence and gentleness of his conduct as duke of the palace of Austrasia¹². Many had fled from the tyranny of Ebroin to that court. The faction that opposed the election of Berthaire, Ebroin's successor, and who dreaded his resentment, sought refuge in the eastern territories of France.

So many exiles, united by their common sufferings and by the desire of returning home, naturally associated, and contrived the means of effecting their restoration. They could entertain no hope of a safe return to their native country under the present administration, and were too weak of themselves to accomplish a revolution in their favour. They stated their sufferings therefore, and their

¹¹ Vit. S^ti Leodeg. c. 9—18. Fredeg. Contin. c. 98.

¹² This seems to have been equivalent to the office of mayor, but held only in absence of the prince, and more independent of him. It is also called a principality, as that of Burgundy held by the sons of Pepin d'Heristal.

A. D. 687.

only hope of relief from them, to Pepin. They represented, and naturally aggravated, all the severities of Thierri's administration, and in conclusion urged him to undertake the deliverance of their country from oppression and tyranny. Being generous and ambitious, he readily yielded to their intreaties.

espouses the cause of the refugees;

As the first step, he sent to demand of Thierri that these refugees should be restored to the safe enjoyment of their families and civil privileges. The king replied, as might be expected, that he had just reason to fear they had fled from their privileges, and had forfeited all claim to them; that it was presumption in the duke of Austrasia to protect, or to encourage them; and that, instead of granting their demand, he intended without delay to come and seize them as rebels¹³.

On receiving this answer, Pepin assembled the principal lords of the state, and represented it as a general threatening. "Are you willing then," said he, "patiently to suffer the ravages of his army; or will you meet him in his own dominions?" They resolved immediately to raise an army and march against him; and of this army Pepin gladly assumed the command.

marches against Thierri.

Before they departed however, he convened the principal officers, and insisted on the purity of his intentions, and the justice of their cause. "You are going," said he, "to rescue an innocent and suffering people; to chastise not merely the oppressors of men, but the enemies of God. We have been solicited, not only by these exiles whom you see now accompanying us, but by all the bishops and clergy of Neustria and Burgundy, whose churches their civil rulers have robbed, and whose houses

¹³ Contin. Predeg. c. 100.

A. D. 687.

“ and lands they have pillaged and ruined. You have reason then,” said he, “ to trust in the goodness of your cause, and in the countenance and aid of heaven.” To give his words more weight, and render the ceremony more solemn and impressive, he caused a prayer to be offered up in the presence of the army, for the favour and assistance of the Almighty, whom they now professed to serve, and whose church and people they proposed to defend.

Battle of
Tertii.

The two armies met at Tertri, a village near the Somme; where, still more ostensibly to justify himself, and to make the opposite party appear wholly unreasonable, Pepin proposed an accommodation. He required that satisfaction should be given to the bishops who had been sacrilegiously injured; and that the banished lords, clergy, and other exiles, should be restored. On his part, he offered a sum of money to defray the expence of the war, and to indemnify those who might have suffered by the march of his army; adding, that he was desirous of preventing an engagement, and of sparing the lives of so many of his brave countrymen.

These proposals were rejected with disdain. “ Is it for the honour of the king, or of the state,” said Berthaire, the mayor of Thierri, “ to listen to these terms? Shall rebels prescribe terms to their sovereign? Is it not manifest that the leader of these troops, finding himself now inferior, wishes to retire? But shall we allow him and his followers to escape? No, let us instantly go and shew them the danger of opposing their sovereign.” His advice was adopted; Pepin’s deputies were hastily dismissed; and preparation was made on both sides for an engagement.

Observing a small hill on the other side of the Somme to the right of the enemy, Pepin resolved
to

to pass the river, and to draw up his army there during the night. He decamped without noise, and marching easily over by a ford, left behind him only some carriages, and the worst of the tents and baggage, which a few troops were appointed to set on fire, and to follow about day-break. A. D. 687.

Thierry's scouts returning early in the morning, reported that the enemy had retreated with so much precipitation that they had carried scarcely any thing with them, and that their tents, carriages, and baggage were burning. There seemed nothing to do but, after sending a party to the deserted camp to secure the spoil, to pursue the enemy. In the midst of the disorder which the fearless pursuit and desire of plunder occasioned, while some were entering the water, some in the middle of it, and others had passed over, the Austrasian army was discovered on the eminence near them, descending in order of battle. There was no time either to collect or order the royal army; it was, of course, totally routed. Berthaire the mayor was killed by his own soldiers; and the pursuit continued even to Paris, the gates of which city were thrown open to the victorious duke, and the king himself was delivered into his hands²⁴. Pepin's victory.

Pepin now added the mayorship of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy to the dukedom of Austrasia. He assumed the reins of government, and henceforth enjoyed every thing belonging to the monarch of France except the name. Some writers here terminate the Merovingian, and begin the Carolingian race; but Thierry, and several more of the same family, his successors, continued nominally kings. They were brought forward on certain solemn occasions as puppets, with all the outward and its consequences.

²⁴ Annal. Metenses ad ann. 690. Fredeg. Contin. c. 100.

A. D. 687.

ensigns of royalty, and were even surrounded by guards; but it was more to prevent their intercourse with the people, than either for state or safety.

His administration;

Pepin, considering that it was more difficult to secure and maintain power than to acquire it, turned his attention to the means of increasing and establishing his popularity. He did not pass a general act of indemnity, but (what was equally generous, and more ingratiating) he readily granted a pardon to all who entreated for it; and on their taking an oath of allegiance to him, he restored to them all their property and privileges.

Grievances in church and state were cheerfully redressed; the laws were duly executed; discipline was restored to the army; the state of the finances was strictly examined, and improved; enquiry and order were instituted in every department, and abuses, wherever found, corrected. Hence tranquillity, vigour, and order, gave a new face to the empire.

his policy;

The people were filled with admiration and joy in contrasting their present with their late condition, and respected and venerated Pepin as their deliverer. He knew the danger of allowing them leisure to reflect on the novelty of his situation, and therefore resolved to find employment for active and restless minds; to furnish topics abroad, for conversation at home; and in order to prevent too close an inspection of his person and power, to find suitable pretexts for keeping up a numerous army in good military habits and order.

A. D. 689.

The several tribes of Germany, and some of the provinces of France, had taken advantage of the dissensions and distractions of the preceding reigns, to throw off the French yoke, and to assert their inde-

independence. He represented to his people and to the army, the importance of recovering the allegiance of these tribes, not merely as an augmentation of the empire, but to prevent them from uniting to invade and ravage its territories. In this opinion they readily concurred, and the campaign was accordingly begun. A. D. 689.

Radbod, duke of the Frisians, was the only person who ventured to engage with him in a pitched battle; and being defeated, and the greater part of his army cut off, he submitted, and delivered hostages for his future allegiance. This had the intended effect; the other tribes were overawed; and the French army retired into winter-quarters. his success in Germany.

The ancient custom of assembling annually the states of the kingdom in the month of March or May, had been long neglected. Such an assembly was deemed inconvenient or dangerous in the times of discord and civil war; but in success and prosperity it was more easily managed, and their voice might add strength to the springs of government. Pepin therefore renewed these annual meetings of the states, and assigned to the bishops a rank and voice in them equal to the other nobles of the kingdom. His attention to the clergy and their interests was peculiarly politic, considering their influence in those times, as by securing their favour he confirmed his own power.

In an assembly which he now convened, the most wholesome laws were enacted for the church, the state, the poor, the just administration of wardships; the protection of widows and orphans, and the general regulation of manners. Assembly of March.

The king Thierry attended this assembly, and being seated on a throne with every appearance of majesty, though he was the mere phantom of royalty, he received all the exterior respect due to a sovereign. State of the king.

A. D. 689.

reign. When the assembly broke up, he withdrew, till a similar occasion required him to be again exhibited. Those public appearances and marks of respect prevented the effects of jealousy, by contrasting the insignificance of the king with the importance and utility of the mayor. When Thierry died, which happened about three years after Pepin's victory over Berthaire, his death occasioned no change, nor gave the slightest shock to the administration of public affairs. His eldest son was placed with the utmost tranquillity on the throne of his father, by the name of Clovis III.; and five years afterwards, Childebert III. succeeded Clovis without opposition¹⁵.

He dies,
A. D. 692.

Clovis III.
A. D. 695.

Childebert
III.

The reigns of Clovis and Childebert passed over without any remarkable occurrence. The almost yearly expeditions against the turbulent states, chiefly on the eastern frontiers, generally resembled those which have been already related. Periods of internal quiet, though the richest in national prosperity, are usually the least interesting to future generations.

Pepin was universally revered. Every thing political was transacted by himself. He sent and received foreign embassies; and though duke only of Austrasia, he was respected over all Europe as a great monarch. The pope calls him *subregulus*, or viceroy.

With this title he was satisfied, but he projected a higher rank and name for his family; he constituted one of his sons duke of Burgundy, and the other mayor of the palace of Neustria. On the death of the former, he raised the latter from the mayorship to the dukedom, or, as the author of the *Annals of Metz* calls it, to the principality¹⁶.

¹⁵ Second. Contin. Fredeg. c. 101—104. Annales Metens. Gest. Franc. c. 49. 50.

¹⁶ Ad ann. 712.

After reigning seventeen years Childebert died, and was succeeded by Dagobert III.

A. D. 711.

Dagobert III.

Death of Pepin d'Heristal, or the Gross, A. D. 714.

The growing infirmities, and at last the death of Pepin, afforded Dagobert further opportunities of vindicating his rights, and asserting his sovereignty; but he wanted spirit and perseverance. At the age of seventeen, roused by his people, he headed an army of Neustrians, and defeated the Austrasians, who were ashamed of their submission to the government of an infant mayor, the grandson of Pepin, and of his grandmother Plectrude, Pepin's widow. He reaped, however, no advantage from this success. A new mayor, Rainfroi, was chosen by the Neustrians, and Dagobert sunk into neglect and insignificance. Nothing else is recorded of him. The mayor, not the monarch, at this period is the theme of history. He died in the seventeenth year of his age, and fifth of his reign¹⁷.

A. D. 716.

Chilperic II. ascended the throne at the age of forty-five. He appears to have been more capable of assuming the government, and active in maintaining it, but not more fortunate than his predecessors.

Chilperic II.

Charles Martel, said by some writers to be an illegitimate son of Pepin, by others to be his lawful son by Alpaida, having been imprisoned by Plectrude during her regency, made his escape to Austrasia, and was received by the people of that country with enthusiasm, as the image and successor of his father.

On receiving intelligence of Charles's successful reception, Rainfroi mayor of Neustria, and his master Chilperic, judged it high time to take the field. Being joined by the duke of Friesland, their forces were far superior to those of Charles¹⁸. They gained some

¹⁷ Gest. Reg. Franc. c. 52.

¹⁸ To induce Eudes duke of Aquitaine to join them, Rainfroi and Chilperic sent him, among other presents, "regnum," a crown,

A. D. 716.

some advantage over him, and ravaging the country, did every thing in their power to provoke him to an engagement; but he cautiously avoided it, and embraced the opportunity while they were retreating carelessly by the forest of Arden loaded with booty, to throw himself with five hundred men into that forest. At a proper season he caused a report to be spread that the whole Austrasian army were at hand, and seized the period when the apprehensions of the enemy were just roused, of rushing on their camp. They believed the report, and fled with terror and consternation¹⁹.

Is routed by
Charles
Martel.

The wisdom and valour which Charles displayed on this occasion, and the success with which his caution and courage were crowned, decided every thing in his favour. They who formerly hesitated, now cheerfully joined him, and he was enabled to take the field with a numerous army early in the spring. Having met Chilperic near Cambray, and offered him peace, on condition that he should be admitted to the rank and office of his illustrious father; his proposals were rejected with indignation by the king and his mayor, and an engagement became unavoidable.

Is again
totally de-
feated.

A. D. 717.

The royal army was still the most numerous, but Charles had the best troops. On the morning of the 19th of March, after an obstinate and bloody battle, Charles obtained that victory which finally secured to him and his family not only the empire of France, but an illustrious name and extensive influence over all Europe.

crown, as a token that he should henceforth be considered as the independent sovereign of Aquitaine. See *Fredegair's Chronicle*, and the essay on the word *regnum*, tom. i. of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions*, &c.

¹⁹ *Gest. Reg. Franc.* c. 53. *Annal. Metenses.*

After

After this victory he scoured the country as far as Paris; returned towards Cologne, at that time the capital of Austrasia and the residence of Plectrude his stepmother, and immediately besieged and took it. All the treasure of his late father which was lodged there, fell into his hands, and the army proclaimed him not only duke of Austrasia, but the successor of Pepin in all his offices both in Neustria and Austrasia.

A. D. 717.

Though he succeeded thus in the manner of a conquest, yet he ventured not altogether to supersede the reigning family, but thought it prudent to proclaim Clotaire IV. whose descent is not known, as king during the absence of Chilperic, who had fled to Aquitaine; but on Clotaire's death, he recalled Chilperic, and replaced him on the throne.

A. D. 720.

Chilperic enjoyed this restoration but a short time; he died at Noyon, and was succeeded by Thierri, son of Dagobert III., who was crowned king of all France.

Dies,
A. D. 721.

Under him, as mayor of the palace, Charles governed without control, and the remainder of his history is a series of successful wars and triumphs. He soon reduced the rebellious states of Germany, but was anxious to secure their allegiance, and to gain their attachment. Being still Pagans, he proposed to convert them to Christianity, and civilize them. The Pope and the clergy zealously seconded his endeavours, and repaid him with universal popularity²⁰.

The progress of the Saracens in Spain next occupied his attention. That people, the natives of the Arabian desert (Sara), whence their name seems derived, under the victorious banner of Mahomet had extended their conquests from the Indus to the

The Sa-
racens.

²⁰ Annales Metens. ad ann. 719—729.

Mediterr-

A. D. 721.

conquer Spain, Mediterranean, and over a considerable part of Africa. From Africa they were invited into Spain by Count Julian, a Visigoth nobleman, to aid him in avenging a family quarrel against Roderic, his relation and sovereign. They killed Roderic, and in fourteen months subdued all Spain, after it had been held three hundred years by the Visigoths.

invade France. The ease with which they overran and conquered Spain, encouraged them to pass the Pyrenees, and attempt the conquest also of France. Eudes, the tributary duke of Aquitaine, thought to render himself independent of France by an alliance with them. He was not long of being convinced of the danger of affording the smallest encouragement to the invasion of a foreign enemy. It was by such encouragement that they had come into Spain, and subjected it in so short a time to their dominion; and by analogy, they trusted that they were to meet with little more opposition in France. They subdued Languedoc, entered Aquitaine, passed the Garonne, and were threatening the country on the banks of the Loire, when Eudes, who had hitherto boldly, and sometimes successfully, resisted them, was forced to implore the immediate aid of Charles.

The genius and fortune of Charles only were able to check their career, and to save France from the faith and dominion of Mahomet. He saw the danger approaching, and was prepared to resist it. He was not ill pleased to find the turbulent duke of Aquitaine reduced and humbled; but he dreaded any farther accession of strength or territory to these successful and confident invaders, and therefore now hastened to oppose them. He found them near Poitiers, consisting of about four hundred thousand persons, including women, slaves, and children; more like a colony intended to settle peacefully in those fertile provinces, than an army de-

signed to subdue them. His German troops especially looked on them as pygmies; and they, on the other hand, proud of their former successes, imagined that the French would be an easy prey. Abderame, who commanded them, was a great and successful general; and Charles too had now considerable experience in war, and his soldiers confided in him, but their number was far inferior to that of the enemy.

A. D. 731.

The two armies lay a week in the view of each other. Both at last resolved to fight. The battle commenced with fury, and continued the greater part of the day. With axe and sabre the French levelled the enemy every where in their front, but new fronts were perpetually opposed to them; and they were in danger of being flanked, and indeed surrounded, by such an armed multitude. After several hours of dreadful carnage, when yet nothing was decisive, Eudes duke of Aquitaine was directed to wheel secretly round and attack the Saracens from behind. With a chosen band he succeeded, and stormed their camp. The mixed shout was tremendous, and filled the army with amazement. They saw the unarmed multitude flying in all directions from the camp. Abderame, however, bravely kept his ground, and endeavoured to animate his men, till he was killed, when they gave way. The pursuit for some time was no less bloody than the engagement; but night coming on, favoured the escape of many. The victory was complete. The French indeed lost fifteen hundred, but the Saracens are said to have lost three hundred and seventy-five thousand²¹.

Battle of
Poitiers,
A. D. 732.

²¹ Roderic Hist. Arab. lib. iv. c. 14. Paul Hist. Longob. lib. vi. c. 46. Paul only mentions the number slain; he wrote in the reign of Charlemagne, not half a century after.

The

A. D. 732.

The number of the slain, if it can be depended on, was partly owing to the vast multitude of slaves, women, and children, who, in the heat of the engagement, probably received no quarter from Eudes; and partly to the dissensions which are said to have arisen in their army after they retired from the field of battle, when the different tribes, without a general, in imputing their failure to one another, finished the victory and triumph of Charles.

His name, Martel, or the Hammer, was derived from his acts of prowess on this occasion. His strokes fell numberless and effectual on the Saracens. Their power was broken, Aquitaine was recovered, and these fierce Arabs learned henceforth to respect the French, who contributed, according to the alarm with which they had filled the minds of men, to extend the name and glory of Charles over the whole of Europe.

He was every where respected and feared. Wherever he turned his arms, the enemy vanished before him, or bowed under him. We are scarcely able to trace the career of his successes and victories. He reduced the malcontents of Burgundy, and the rebels in Friesland, Aquitaine, and Saxony. He repelled the Saracens, who once more attempted to enter Provence; and he restored for a season universal tranquillity.

A. D. 737.
Thierry
dies.

Thierry, little noticed during his life, died soon after. Even his death was scarcely observed by the people. Charles, now in fact the sovereign of the empire, never offered again to fill the throne. He followed the example of his father; he wanted not royalty himself, but intended gradually to diminish the distance, and surmount the obstacles, which intervened betwixt his family and the crown²².

²² Annal. Met. ad ann. 736, 737. Contin. Predeg. c. 109.

Towards the latter end of his life he was almost involved by Pope Gregory III. in a war with Leo the Isaurian. That emperor having entered with much zeal into the controversy about the worship of images, which at that time distracted the Christian church, published an edict, ordering them to be removed out of every place of worship, and to be broken; hence he and his party were called Iconoclasts. The pope headed the opposite party. Italy, between the two parties, became the scene of tumult and rebellion. The Lombards took advantage of these divisions, seized Ravenna, and threatened Rome. In this situation Gregory wrote to Charles a flattering letter, requesting his interposition, not as a thing absolutely necessary for the safety of the prince of the apostles, who, he trusted, should always be able to defend himself, but as a very favourable opportunity for Charles to prove himself a faithful and affectionate son of the church.

A. D. 738.
Inter-reign.

Italy distressed by the Iconoclasts.

Charles did not chuse upon this occasion to break with the Lombards; but such was his influence with Luitprand their king, that he prevailed on him to withdraw his troops, and to restore the territories which he had taken from the church. By his very word, he delivered Rome from the fear both of the Lombards and of the emperor, and gave a beginning to the temporal power of the pope²².

Charles's influence.

This service laid the foundation of the Imperial grandeur of his family; but his own death happening at the same time with that of the pope and emperor, prevented any farther immediate consequences. He died in October, A. D. 741. Every thing in his character and conduct is great. From a prison he

His death,
A. D. 741.

²² Epist. Gregor. 2d and 3d. Contin. Fredeg. c. 110. Annal. Met.

A. D. 741.

His charac-
ter.

raised himself, by his prudence, activity, and valour, to a state equal to the throne; and what chiefly gives a lustre to his reputation is, that we find him chargeable with no wilful or unnecessary oppression, or bloodshed. In raising himself too, he aggrandised the state; he gave a stability to the government, and a glory to the arms of France.

The almost constant wars in which he was engaged, as far as we can judge necessarily, in one quarter or another, occasioned great expence. Considering the Saracen as a religious war, he thought it reasonable that the church and monastery lands, as well as others, should contribute to defray the expence. He required the bishops and abbots, therefore, either to repair to the field with their lay vassals, or to contribute a proportional share for the encouragement and maintenance of those who must supply their place. Some of the clergy gave great offence, by preferring personal service. The requisition on the whole irritated the clergy, and disposed them to write with prejudice against Charles. Instead of canonising him as a saint, they endeavoured to propagate the belief that he was undoubtedly tormented in the infernal regions²⁴. Yet had it not been for the skill and valour of this man, Christianity would have been exterminated, and Mahometanism spread over Europe.

His sons
succeed.

Before his death he assembled the states of the realm, and obtained their consent to the succession of his sons, Carloman to the dukedom of Austrasia, and Pepin to that of Burgundy and Neustria. Griffon, his third son, also received some cities and territory; but the turbulence of his disposition pro-

²⁴ Epist. Synod. attributed to Hincmar.

voked the other two brothers very soon to take them from him²⁵. A. D. 741.

Pepin and Carloman, finding their presence necessary to repress and chastise the rebels of the east, marched against the duke of Bavaria, the duke of the Allemans, and the duke of Saxony, and having as usual reduced them for the time, they returned, and next directed their arms with equal success against Hunaulde, duke of Aquitaine, who had taken advantage of their absence, to burn and pillage the territories adjacent to him. Their military expeditions.

During these military campaigns, which the two brothers generally carried on cordially together, Carloman proposed to retire from a military and political, to a religious and sequestered life. This kind of retirement to monasteries was becoming frequent. Men imagined that a total abstraction from the business, as well as from the pleasures of the world, was necessary, in order to the acceptable service of God, and to the certain salvation of the soul. Hunaulde, duke of Aquitaine, is particularly mentioned as another eminent example of such retirement. Carloman preferred a monastery near Rome to any of those in France. In the end of the year 746, he set out for that august city, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, carrying very valuable presents to the pope, and leaving his brother Pepin master of the whole French empire²⁶. Carloman retires. A. D. 746.

Things were not yet fully ripe for setting aside altogether the family of Clovis. Pepin therefore had, so far back as the year 743, placed Childeric III. on the throne. He was the last of the Merovingian race, who, beginning with Clovis, to the Childeric III.

²⁵ Annal. Met. ad ann. 741.

²⁶ Continuat. Fredeg. c. 110. Eginhart. in Annal. ad ann. 746. Annal. Met.

A. D. 746.

Causes
which con-
tributed to
the fall of
the one race,
and rise of
the other.

number of thirty-two kings, had filled the throne of France two hundred and seventy years.

Rudeness, ferocity, and cruelty, generally characterised them till the reign of Clotaire II.; after him the empire was less divided, and less distracted by civil wars. But the kings themselves became more sensual, superstitious, and indolent. Their frequent and long minorities, particularly after the reign of Dagobert, contributed to the diminution of their dignity and power, and to the increase of the authority and supreme power of the mayors. As the one descended, the other naturally rose, till the people were at last accustomed to look on the latter as their sovereigns. In the progress of a century, veneration for antiquity itself loses its influence; and respect is transferred by new associations, and by new generations of men, from those whose fame is known by means only of history or tradition, to those whose character and achievements are every day the subject of attention and admiration.

The first Pepin and Charles Martel were both illustrious examples of this effect. Their military skill and valour, their political sagacity, their general good fortune in advancing them personally, aggrandised the state. Pepin, the son of Charles, had already shown, both in his eastern and western expeditions, and in his general administration before and after the resignation of Carloman, that he was not inferior to any of his predecessors. His civil government was vigorous, yet mild and gentle; sufficient for restraining licentiousness and criminal disorders, and calculated at the same time to promote and maintain industry, justice, and peace. His public conduct was not more ingratiating, than were his personal affability and agreeable manners. If a few of the nobles were envious, or jealous of his

his high rank and power, they were just sufficient to render him the more prudent and cautious. His liberality to the church, and his particular attentions to the clergy, secured their favour; and their approbation and influence were of great importance in the part which he now resolved to act.

A. D. 746.

In deposing Childeric, and assuming to himself the august title of king, he considered that the sanction of the pope might diminish the scruples of the people, and convey the crown to him with a religious weight, which might fix it on his head with a firmness equal to that of family and hereditary descent.

The means
used by
Pepin in
assuming
the crown
of France.

He had cultivated a close intercourse with Zachary, the reigning pope. He often consulted him about ecclesiastical affairs, and caused his answers to be read to the clergy, and to be observed by them with respect and submission. This both gratified the pope, and accustomed the clergy and people to reverence and obey him.

Zachary, on the other hand, like his predecessor, was involved in the controversy respecting image worship, and was threatened by the arms of both the emperor and the king of the Lombards. The emperor was at the head of the Iconoclasts; the Lombards were Arians; Spain was now subject to the Saracens; and a great part of Germany was still idolatrous. Zachary could place his hope of protection and aid in France alone. He had formerly solicited these without effect, and only waited a more favourable juncture for repeating and enforcing his requests. None could be more favourable than that which was now presented to him. In bestowing or confirming a crown, he might hope for his protection at least on whom he conferred it. He saw, besides, that such an interposition of his authority must increase the importance

Advises
with the
pope.

A. D. 746.

and influence of the Holy See, and lay a precedent for future interferences of the like nature in the civil and political affairs of Europe.

At the same time, Pepin proceeded with the utmost delicacy and caution in proposing the matter to him. He knew the importance of a first impression, and was anxious that it should be favourable. Having gained Boniface, bishop of Mayence, the most zealous and popular of all the clergy, and the most intimate with Zachary, he entrusted to him the communication of his design²⁷.

He was not kept long in suspense. His proposal, he was assured, had been well received at Rome. He now therefore more openly and formally deputed the bishop of Würzburg, and the abbot of St. Denis, to propose as a case of conscience, which required the judgment and sanction of the highest and most sacred authority, "Whether, considering
 " the present state of Europe, it were expedient
 " that the nominal, and real source of authority
 " in the French empire, should be divided? Or,
 " considering the incapacity of Childeric, the
 " lustre of Pepin's family for a century past, and
 " his own high reputation, whether, having been
 " so long in possession of all power, he ought now
 " actually to assume the rank and title of king?"

The case having been duly examined by the pope, he returned the following judgment: "That
 " having considered the whole circumstances of the
 " subject proposed to him, he was satisfied that he
 " who is in possession of the reins of government,
 " may also assume the name of king."

Proposes
 it to an
 assembly.

Matters being so far prepared, Pepin next assembled the states of the kingdom, a great part of whom also were in the secret. The business was

²⁷ Epistol. Zachariæ ad Bonif., et Bonifacii ad Zachar.

introduced, and conducted by his friends. They stated the services which his family had rendered to the empire, the peace and prosperity which it now enjoyed under his administration, the danger to which it might be exposed from the Saracens, or the tributary nations now overawed by his vigilance and authority: that to secure the tranquillity of the state, and the happiness of the people, it was highly prudent and justifiable to confer on real ability and worth, the reward due to so many inestimable services: in a word, that it was their interest and their duty to request the noble Pepin's consent, that his title of duke may be changed into that of king of France; that there was no real obstacle; Childeric should be provided for, suitably to his rank and capacity: that the case, as far as religion and conscience were concerned, had been examined by the father of the Christian church, and that he, judging it to be for the interest of both church and state, had advised the calling of this assembly, and the communication of this measure, for their deliberation and decision.

A. D. 746.

His friends applauded the scheme; others readily joined their approbation. They expressed their decision by a general acclamation. Measures were taken without delay for the solemn inauguration; Pepin was crowned and proclaimed king of France, and placed, with his queen Bertrade, formally on the throne²².

Is proclaimed king.

To give the more solemnity to his inauguration, and to render his person and royalty the more sacred, Boniface-archbishop of Mayence, and the pope's legate, who attended on this occasion, anointed and consecrated him, after the manner of the kings of Israel. This ceremony, observed

²² Annal. Met. Eginhart Annal. ad A. D. 750. Secund. Contin. Fredegar. c. 117.

A. D. 746. now probably for the first time in France, became customary thenceforward at the coronation of the French kings ²⁹.

A suitable account of this event, the reasons of it, the pope's opinion and approbation of it, and the unanimous act of the assembly, were all industriously published and circulated over the empire, and every one seems to have participated in the general joy.

End of the
Merovin-
gian race,
A. D. 751.

Childeric, dethroned and deserted, was shaved, and conducted to a monastery, where he died about three or four years after. He had one son, who was in like manner withdrawn from a public and political, to a retired and religious state.

²⁹ The opinion of the Abbé Vertot, tom. ii. *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres*, that solemn unction was usual at the coronation of the kings of France since the baptism of Clovis, seems not very probable. It appears more generally to have been the custom, simply to elevate the new king on a shield, and to exhibit him thus to his soldiers or people, with solemn proclamation and shouting.

List of Merovingian Kings in Chronological Order.

Of Soissons or Paris, or of Neustria.	Of Orleans, or of Burgundy.	Of Metz, or of Austrasia.
Clovis, A. D. 486 to 511		
Childebert died, - 558	Clodomir died, A. D. 524	Thierry died, A. D. 534
Clotaire died, - 562	_____	Theodebert, - 548
Charibert, - 568	_____	Theodebald, - 555
Chilperic, - 584	Gontran died, - 593	Sigebert, - 575
Clotaire II. died, - 628	Thierry, - 613	Childebert, - 596
Dagobert, - 638		Theodebert, - 612
Clovis II. - 654		Sigebert II. - 654
Clotaire III. - 672		
Childeric II. died, 673		
Thierry, - 692		
Clovis III. - 695		
Childebert II. died, 711		
Dagobert II. - 716		
Chilperic II. - 721		
Thierry II. - 737		
Inter-reign ends, 743		
Childeric III. is de- throned, - 751		

SECT. V.

The History of France under Pepin and Charlemagne, from A. D. 751 to A. D. 814.

PEPIN, now exalted to the throne, was aware that idleness and sensuality had contributed to ruin the late kings, and that activity and usefulness were necessary to maintain his respectability. A. D. 751.

Gripon or Griffon, his brother, whom he and Carloman had originally stripped of all his territories; whom Pepin had again invested with property, and treated with respect; whose subsequent and repeated rebellions he had pardoned, and on whom he had once more settled a considerable territory, and suitable rank and privileges, could not rest satisfied. Disdaining to be inferior and dependent, he went over to the duke of Aquitaine, and endeavoured to raise a new rebellion in that quarter. He was demanded by Pepin, and the duke must have delivered him, had he not again made his escape. He was so closely pursued, and pressed with such zeal and activity, that his remaining troops were totally defeated, and he himself was slain. Gripon's rebellion,

Having also subdued the Bretons and Saxons, who were always ready to revolt when any favourable occasion presented itself, Pepin's attention was now turned to the affairs of Italy. and death.

Ravenna and Rome were all that remained at this time of the western empire, belonging to the emperor of Constantinople. Astolphus, king of the Lombards, an active and ambitious prince, was desirous of having these added to his other dominions in Italy. Knowing that the emperor Con- State of Italy.

A. D. 751.

stantine Copronimus was fully occupied with the Bulgarian war, and that he seemed indeed to have almost totally abandoned Italy, he judged the present a favourable juncture for gratifying his ambition. After a vigorous siege, he forced the Exarch^{*} to evacuate Ravenna, and marching thence, laid siege to Rome.

The pope
Stephen III.

a refugee in
France.
January,
A. D. 754.

Stephen III. the reigning pope, intreated Constantine's aid without effect. In vain did he solicit Astolphus to spare the holy seat of the successors of Saint Peter. He next implored the immediate interposition of Pepin, and fled personally to his protection.

On this occasion, authors have differed widely in the accounts which they have given of the interview of these two august personages. Anastasius, in his History of the Popes, represents Pepin as prostrating himself on the earth before Stephen, and attending him on foot as an equerry. Theophanes, in his Chronicle, describes him as agitated with remorse on account of his usurpation, praying for absolution, and receiving it with great ceremony from the pope. The author of the Annals of Metz, on the other hand, represents the pope in dust and ashes at the feet of the French monarch, supplicating him earnestly to deliver Rome. The second continuator of Fredegaire's chronicle, who was cotemporary, simply relates that the pope brought many valuable presents to Pepin, was received with great joy, and promised immediate assistance.

^{*} The Exarch was the chief Imperial officer appointed by the Emperor of Constantinople for near two centuries back, to superintend as a vicar or prefect, the affairs of Italy. Ravenna was his residence and seat of government, and hence the territory attached to him was called the Exarchate of Ravenna.

It is certain that Pepin received him with the utmost respect, and lodged him in the abbey of Saint Denis, till he should be able to replace him in Rome. He observed the profound reverence of the people for the pope, who remained all that winter at Paris; he proposed that he should be consecrated anew in person by his holiness, together with his queen, and his two sons Charles and Carloman. The sovereign pontiff having performed that ceremony, denounced anathemas and excommunication against every one who should attempt to dethrone the present reigning family.

A. D. 754.

Re-conse-
crates
Pepin.

Astolphus had leisure during the winter to consider his own interest, and the measures which he ought to pursue. He had much to fear from a war with the French, but was extremely averse to give up Rome and Ravenna. He tried to negotiate with Pepin, and was unsuccessful. He prevailed with Carloman, the late duke of Austrasia, now resident in the monastery which he had built at Montcassin, to take a journey into France, to endeavour to dissuade his brother Pepin from intermeddling in the affairs of Italy. The noble monk arrived during the sitting of the assembly, which his royal brother had called to deliberate on the conduct of the Lombards, and had leave of audience granted him. His birth, his talents and virtues, his former rank among them, and his present appearance, all prepossessed the assembly in his favour. He spoke with so much energy and eloquence against war in Italy, which had so often been prejudicial to France, that he induced them to resolve that they would not engage in war till they had made trial of the means of negotiation. This degree of success most probably offended the pope and the king, though it is not so probable that the latter especially would conspire, as he is said to have done, not only against
his

A. D. 754. his brother's life, but against the liberty of his children². It is certain, however, that Carloman died soon after, either in France, or on his road home through Italy.

The pope, gifted with the Exarchate of Ravenna, A. D. 756.

Negotiations proving unsuccessful, war was determined on. With the consent of the lords, Pepin and his sons presented the pope with the donation of the Exarchate of Ravenna, which laid the foundation of the pope's temporal power³, and they marched forthwith to realise the donation. They forced the pass of Suza, defeated the Lombards, and drove Astolphus into Pavia. The latter was now glad to accept of peace on the terms which the former dictated; *viz.* That he should relinquish Ravenna and its dependencies for ever, give forty hostages for his fidelity, and deliver Narni into the hands of the pope. Stephen was conducted in triumph to Rome, and Pepin returned with his victorious army to France.

It is refused by the Lombards.

But Astolphus, now relieved from a perilous siege, repented. Conceiving that he had purchased peace too dear, he refused to deliver up Ravenna to the pope, and again invested Rome. The danger was imminent. Stephen wrote a letter in his own name, and another in the name and person of Saint Peter, imploring deliverance⁴. Pepin had previously heard of the violation of the treaty of Pavia, and was prepared instantly to march, and take ven-

² Secund. Contin. Fredegarii.

³ Epist. Stephani ad Pepinum. Annales Fuldenses ad ann. 756. The Exarchate, besides Ravenna, included Adria, Ferrara, Imola, Fayenza, Forli, and six other cities, with their dependencies. And under the name of Pentapolis, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigalia, Ancona, &c.

⁴ This letter is a curious example of personification. Saint Peter is joined by the Holy Virgin, the angels, saints, martyrs, and by all the host of heaven, requesting Pepin's aid. Codex Carolin. epist. 3.

geance on the faithless Lombards. As he advanced towards Italy, he received the Imperial ambassadors with magnificent presents, and grateful acknowledgments for his valiant opposition to Astolphus's incroachments on the Imperial dominions; and they added their hope and request, that Ravenna, being recovered from the Lombards, should be restored to the empire, to which it formerly belonged. This request seemed unreasonable. The Emperor had received sufficient warning of the danger of the Exarchate, and had not taken any proper step to prevent it. Pepin had conquered it by the treaty of Pavia, and had given it irredeemably to the pope. With truth, therefore, he told the ambassadors, "That neither ambition nor interest, nor any other motive than the safety and good of the church, had induced him to make war against the Lombards: that as the interest of the church was his motive, the fruits of his enterprise were also hers: that his oath was pledged to this effect, and no power on earth should alter his resolution."

A. D. 756.

Is reclaimed by the Emperor.

They departed, and he proceeded to the siege of Pavia. Astolphus saw him in earnest, dreaded extremities, and accepted of the following conditions: That the treaty of Pavia should be positively fulfilled, and that the city of Commachio should be added to the territory of the Exarchate: that the Lombards should pay a large sum of money to defray the expence of the war, and besides should send an annual tribute of twelve thousand sous d'or, which before the time of Clotaire II. they had been bound to pay to France. These were humiliating terms, but as Pepin was firm and powerful, they were granted. He renewed the donation of the Exarchate to the pope, received new

Is secured to the pope.

hostages

A. D. 756.

hostages for the faithful execution of the treaty, and returned^s.

Astolphus
dies, and is
succeeded
by Didier.

Not long after, Astolphus died. He had no children. His brother Rachis, who had retired to a monastery, was solicited to return to the world, and assume the reins of government. But Didier, one of the generals of the late king, and now at the head of an army, willing to support his pretensions, aspired to the crown. He offered the pope the full execution of the treaty of Pavia, with the addition of Bologna and its dependencies, if he would not only give him countenance, but secure to him the favour and protection of France. The pope grasped at this offer, and effectually supported him.

He claimed a religious authority over Rachis as a monk, reprehended him for violating his vow and leaving his monastery, and ordered him to return to it; but he farther begged leave to advise his adherents, that as they must infallibly yield to Didier, supported as he would be by the French, it were surely better for them now to submit honourably, with safety to themselves and advantage to the peace and prosperity of their country, than wait the issue, which must certainly be unfavourable. Rachis was persuaded, and returned to his monastery; his party submitted; and Didier was acknowledged king of the Lombards.

The cities of Spoleto and Benevento detached themselves on this occasion from the Lombards, chose each a duke of its own, and put themselves, as independent principalities, under the protection jointly of the church and of France.

^s The deed of conveyance was among the archives of Rome in the days of Anastasius, a century after. *Annal. Met. et Fuldens. ad ann. 756.*

The pope now felt himself a temporal prince, possessing considerable power, and much political influence; and he justly acknowledged himself indebted for it all to France.

A. D. 756.

The tributary states next occupied Pepin's attention. He chastised as usual, and subjected, the Saxons, the Slavonians, and the Bavarians, who were perpetually turbulent, and often attempting to shake off the yoke of France. He took from the duke of Aquitaine, who was grown insufferable, his towns and castles, one after another, in five campaigns, and finally incorporated that principality with the French empire*.

Pepin chastises the tributary states;

annexes Aquitaine to France;

These measures occupied Pepin till his death. At Saintes he was taken ill of a fever, and his friends, more under the influence of superstition than confidence in medicine, carried him from one saint's tomb to another; but neither Saint Martin, nor Saint Denis, was able to save him. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, the seventeenth of his reign, and the twentieth of his government.

dies, September, A. D. 768.

No man in so elevated and active a station, and especially in circumstances so critical as attended the revolution in his favour, ever maintained a character, either considered personally or politically, more irreproachable, or more highly respectable than Pepin. His prudence was remarkable even to a proverb. In the field, in the council, in the assembly of the people, his opinion was usually solicited, and readily followed. His plans, his decisions, his enterprises, all his measures, were wise and successful.

His character.

Few princes gave so great a share in the administration to the nobles; but the more he conde-

* Contin. Fredeg. c. 125—130. Codex Carolin. Eginhart. scended,

A. D. 768.

ascended, the greater authority and real dignity he acquired. No faction disturbed his government, or ever appeared to disquiet his mind. He ascended the throne without bloodshed, and reigned without exciting the groan of oppression.

He appears to have possessed that well-balanced mind which was not indifferent to any circumstance, but deliberately judged of every step which he pursued. He had quick feelings, and an acute discernment; but his sensibility was regulated by his prudence. Though his habitual thoughtfulness gave an expression of gravity to his temper and manner, he entered cheerfully, and with good humour, into the occasional mirth of his company, and all the ordinary amusements of the times.

His body was short, but stout and vigorous. At a public shew, while a strong lion held a furious bull by the throat almost strangled, he proposed that some of the company should step forward and rescue him. No one daring to attempt it, he rose from his seat, leaped on the stage, cut the throat of the lion, and with one stroke of his sabre cut off the head of the bull; then turning to the company, said, "David was a little man, who slew Goliath; Alexander also was but of little stature, yet had he more strength and courage than many of his officers, who were taller and handsomer than himself."

The empire
is divided
betwixt
Charles and
Carloman,
A. D. 769.

THE division of the empire, which Pepin before his death proposed for his sons, for reasons not on record was set aside by an assembly of the people,

* St Gall, lib. ii. c. 23.

which

which made a new partition*. They gave Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, to Charles; and Austrasia, with all the German states, to Carloman. Both princes were crowned on the same day; the former at Noyon, the latter at Soissons.

A. D. 769.

A quarrel which immediately followed, probably arose from some misunderstanding about the division of their territories, or the boundaries of them. On this occasion Charles exhibited the first proofs of his activity and valour; he raised an army, invaded Austrasia, and, in the face of Carloman, conquered, and added a part of it to his dominions.

Their quarrel

In so extensive an empire, the least change affects the general strength and order. The success and fame of Pepin overawed the whole, and maintained its unity. The division of it now betwixt his sons, their youth and inexperience, and their recent quarrel and war, encouraged the tributary states, as usual, to hope that at this juncture they might prove successful in recovering their independence. Hunaulde, duke of Aquitaine, attempted to re-establish his principality; but was frustrated in the attempt, by the spirit of Charles, and the vigorous measures which he adopted. The duke of Bavaria, Tassillon, had also put his troops in motion, but observing the skill and promptitude of Charles, judged it safest for him instantly to submit. Didier, the king of Lombardy, convinced

occasions insurrections.

Charles successfully suppresses them.

* “ Franci, facto solemniter generali conventu, ambos sibi reges constituunt, ea conditione premissa ut totum regni corpus ex æquo partirentur; et Carolus eam partem quam pater eorum Pipinus tenuerat, Carlomannus vero, eam cui Patruus eorum Carlomannus præerat, regendi gratia susciperet.” Eginhartus in vit. Carol.

Eginhart was Charles's secretary, and was likely to be well informed. He wrote the history of his life, and married one of his daughters. His annals will furnish some important materials in the history of this reign.

that

A. D. 769.

that the son was not inferior to the father, and that if seemed vain for him to attempt the force of arms against him, proposed rather to detach him from the pope, and to unite him with his own state and family by a marriage alliance.

Divorces
Himiltrude.

He knew that Charles was already married to Himiltrude, a French lady; but the marriage tie in those times⁹ being loose and easily dissoluble, he entertained the hope of prevailing with him to divorce her, and to marry his daughter, the sister of the duchess of Bavaria.

The queen-mother, Bertrade, favoured the proposal. She hoped that it might prevent the frequent tendencies to rupture between Bavaria, Lombardy, and France. The pope, on the other hand, was afraid that this alliance would retard, if not altogether prevent, the full execution of the treaty of Pavia, and therefore laboured to oppose it. He sent two legates to Charles with a letter, in which he represented his wonder and concern that he who was already married, should entertain the thought of marrying another wife; that a divorce, without a sufficient cause, was criminal; that his father Pepin having once purposed to divorce the queen their mother, was dissuaded from it by the pope Stephen II.; that the Lombards were an heretical, excommunicated race, on whom the malediction of the church was visibly accompanied with the visitation of God, for that several of the royal family were afflicted with leprosy: Finally, he threatened the French with the severest ecclesiastical resentment, if Charles persisted in this ungodly alliance. But Bertrade was as zealous on the

⁹ The council of Verberies allowed great latitude in the marriage relation, and thereby contributed much to relax sound morality; Tom. i. Concil. Gall.

other side of the question. The pope lay under obligations to her for former services; she was resolved to gain his consent, and for that purpose undertook a journey to Italy. A. D. 769

On learning his real obstacles to the marriage, she persuaded Didier to remove them, by putting the church in full possession of those places which she claimed, and by engaging to maintain a stable peace with her. On these terms Stephen overlooked his former obstacles, *viz.* a preceding marriage, and the criminality of a divorce; and consented to the signing of the contract betwixt Charles and Gefille, the princess of Lombardy *.

The marriage was solemnised, and dissolved within the course of a year. On account of some incapacity, real or supposed, in the princess, or some dislike to her; and having nothing to dread from the Lombard nation, after he became sole master of France; Charles had recourse to his former expedient, divorce, dismissed Gefille to her father, and married Hildegarde, a lady of a noble family of the Suevi. Married
Gefille;

her.

Didier was justly incensed, and the present season seemed pregnant with the means most suitable for avenging the affront. Carloman the brother of Charles was dead, and had left two sons, who ought to have succeeded their father. Their mother Gerberge, apprehensive even of bodily danger to them from their uncle, had retired with them to the court of Lombardy. The same court became the general asylum of her personal friends, of all the Austrasian malcontents, and of Hunauld and his friends from Aquitaine. By a combination of so much political influence, Didier had little doubt of being able to chastise the caprice and insolence of Didier's re-
sentment.

* Annal. Franc. Petaviani. Codex Carolin. epist. 45.

A.D. 774 and shouting, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

He spent a few days only at Rome. He confirmed the former grant by Pepin to the church, of the Exarchate, signed it with his mark, for he was not then taught to write¹¹; and departing amidst the acclamations of the people, returned to the siege of Pavia.

Termination of the kingdom of Lombardy.

This siege was conducted with vigour; famine and pestilence raged within the walls. Hunauld, late duke of Aquitaine, being suspected by the people to be the author of the war, was slain. Didier, trembling for himself and his family, was forced to accept their lives, as the only terms that could be granted him. All his territories submitted to the conqueror; and the kingdom of the Lombards ended 206 years from its commencement by Alboin¹².

Charles now put the pope in full possession of what he and his father had presented to him. The rest of Italy, conquered by him, *viz.* Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Genoa, and all the states north and west of the Po, formed a distinct sovereignty dependent on France. Naples and Sicily were still attached to Constantinople. Having garrisoned the towns, and entrusted them to governors in whose fidelity he confided, he returned, carrying Didier with him to France¹³.

Adalgise's rebellion.

So great a revolution, from an independent kingdom to the state of a province, could scarcely be expected to settle instantly into permanent tranquillity. Adalgise, Didier's son, having made his escape to Constantinople, was there persuaded to

¹¹ Eginhart.

¹² Mezeray reckons it but 204 years.

¹³ Eginhart ad ann. 774.

levy war anew against a power which seemed to threaten the eastern empire. He had reason to think that many of his father's late subjects would revolt in his favour, as soon as they were assured of support and protection. The duke of Friuli particularly engaged with readiness to join him, and actually formed a party in his interest.

A. D. 774.

The pope Adrian observed the rise and progress of the rebellion, and communicated his information to his great and good ally Charles. The army of France was prepared to meet the attack, however great; but before the blow could be struck, the emperor of Constantinople died. Adalgise was disappointed, and the duke of Friuli only had proceeded too far to stop with safety. He proposed therefore to fight for himself, and thought the crown of Lombardy a prize worthy of all his exertions and danger. Charles wisely did not despise so weak an enemy, but marched an army against him, dispersed his troops, and cut off his head ¹⁴.

Is killed.

Charles had returned to Saxony to subjugate the rebels of that country, who almost unanimously had taken the advantage of insurrection and war in any other quarter, to rise in arms, assert their independence, and plunder their neighbours. He had endeavoured, as his predecessors had done before him, by Christian missionaries to teach and civilize them. The success was not very great, but proportioned to the means both of severity and civilization. He was receiving the homage of thousands, whose submission was confirmed by their voluntary baptism at Paderborn in Westphalia, when a Saracen emir from Spain arrived to supplicate his protection.

Partial submission of the Saxons.

¹⁴ Eginhart ad ann. 776, 777.

A. D. 776.

State of
Spain.

A spirit of discontent, and desire of independence, prevailed at this time over the whole Saracen empire. The sovereignty of the caliph was disregarded, particularly by Abderame the chief emir in Spain, whose authority was no less ineffectual, though exercised with severity over the other emirs of the provinces. They were impatient of his government, and attempted to assert their own independence, as they believed that the yoke of any other master might be lighter than his. With these sentiments Ibnalarabi, emir, that is governor or prince, of the province of Saragossa, came to implore the protection of Charles.

Charles in-
vited to it.

A. D. 778.

His con-
quests.

The French monarch felt his importance in being courted by these infidels, who had so lately themselves been such successful conquerors. He recollected the glory which his father had acquired by checking the career of their conquests in France. His own ambition of conquest was insatiable, and he was zealous to increase the number of converts to Christianity. Animated by political ambition and religious zeal, he assembled a numerous army on the frontiers of Spain, and divided it into two parts; one of which entered by the east, and the other by the west end of the Pyrenees. The people trembled before him. The cities, as he advanced, opened their gates. The two divisions joined before Saragossa, which capitulated. No enemy formally opposed him, yet he ventured no farther. The Ebro bounded his conquests, and the submissions of the emirs to him. He seemed to have no great confidence in them. His own army felt the extreme heat of the country and of the season; some symptoms of discontent began to appear, and he resolved to return, in full possession of all the dominions, the spoils, and the glory, which he

he had acquired. Having accepted hostages to secure the fidelity of his new subjects; destroyed the fortifications of such towns as might encourage a revolt, or oppose his return, if necessary to chastise them; and left such counts and governors as he was disposed to trust; he marched back from Navarre towards France, with the ease of a conqueror, and all the gaiety of a victorious army loaded with booty ¹⁵. A D. 778.

The pass over the Pyrenees was narrow, steep on both sides, and covered with wood. The Gascon mountaineers were then tributary subjects of France; they had been lately punished with severity for rebellion, and burned with resentment. They observed the unconcern of the French army, and beheld with anxiety the spoils which were borne in triumph. They embraced the precious opportunity of vengeance and of plunder. They concealed themselves in the woods at the entrance into the narrow defile; allowed the king and a great part of the army to pass undisturbed; fell on the baggage, which was guarded by a small party in the rear, whom they killed; and before the king or the rest of the army could know what had happened, or attempt to turn back, carried off an immense booty to places that were inaccessible. An event so surprising and calamitous extremely chagrined Charles, and almost counterbalanced the enjoyment of his Spanish expedition and conquests ¹⁶. The pass of Rancevaux.

In advancing over the country towards the Loire, he studied by his affability and liberality to engage the several orders of men in his interests Charles settles Aquitaine;

¹⁵ Annal. Metenses ad ann. 778.

¹⁶ Annal. Metens. On this occasion Rolland, a famous warrior, was slain, whose prowess, &c. has been much celebrated by romance writers.

A. D. 778.

and friendship. He gave the estates which had been forfeited in the Aquitaine war, to such of his friends as had peculiarly distinguished themselves, or whose influence could contribute to promote the order, and maintain the peace of the country.

Returns to
Italy.

The state of Italy again required his presence. The pope, considering himself now a temporal prince, was more ready than formerly both to take and give offence; and whenever his pride and resentment rose higher than he could well support or gratify, he needed only to call on his lord paramount Charles, to hasten to his aid. The governor of Naples, still under the empire of Constantinople, had presumed to withhold some revenue from the church of Rome. Instead of spiritual, the holy father made trial of worldly weapons of warfare, and took possession of the city of Terracino by way of reprisals. The Neapolitan governor having dared to surprise and recover the city, the pope immediately complained to Charles; and in order to quicken his motions, informed him of an intended conspiracy of the duke of Benevento, and of the Greeks, to place Adalgise, son of the late king Didier, on the throne of Italy.

A. D. 781.

Charles's veneration for the pope was extreme. He was not only desirous of gratifying his wishes, but believed that his sacred character and office gave a peculiar sanction to the acts which he approved and confirmed, that nothing could violate. He was a daily witness too of the respect and deference universally shown to him by both laity and clergy. He readily resolved therefore to go to Italy, and had no doubt that his presence there, with even a small retinue which could not deserve the name of an army, would quiet the pope's apprehensions, and secure him a peaceful accommodation with Naples.

He

He carried a part of his family with him, the queen Hildegarde, and two of his youngest sons by her, Carloman and Lewis, neither of whom was yet baptised; the king had deferred the baptism of both that it might be performed by the hands of the pope in person; and in the ceremony, the name Carloman was changed to that of Pepin. He had another object in view: he was desirous that his two sons should be solemnly consecrated by the pope. Lombardy and Aquitaine had each been accustomed to a resident sovereign. Carloman, now Pepin, was solemnly appointed king of the former, and Lewis of the latter. Thus he hoped to gratify the people of these countries respectively, and at the same time secure them as the patrimonial dominions of the younger branches of his family, against the ambition and usurpation of his elder sons, Pepin by a former marriage, and Charles. His intention was good, and it appears to have made himself, his family, and his subjects, contented and happy".

Thus young, for Lewis was but three years of age, his sons early acquired the language and manners of these countries, and were thereby the more likely to secure the affections of the people.

In the absence of Charles, the Saxons again rebelled. Witikind, a famous Saxon general, a man of superior talents and great influence, a zealous and determined patriot, had often united and frequently headed his countrymen in rebellion against the French government. When others offered and swore allegiance, his mind could not endure the thought of submission. They as readily vio-

A. D. 781.

On his journey crowns Pepin king of Lombardy, and Lewis king of Aquitaine.

Witikind, a king or leader of the Saxons,

" Eginhart ad ann. 782. Codex Carol. epist. 60—64.

A. D. 781.

lated their oath; but a manly, if not a religious dignity, constantly guarded him against a situation in which there was danger of violating his integrity. As often as, he could assemble and maintain a Saxon army, he led them with skill and valour to the field. When he was deserted, or overcome by superior discipline or numbers, his active and daring mind found means of escape or protection till the rage of war abated. He glowed with the desire of rescuing Saxony from a foreign yoke, and embraced every opportunity which seemed to promise him success. Observing the zeal of Charles to convert his nation to the Christian religion, and persuaded that his motives were political, he did all in his power to counteract the missionaries, and to frustrate their scheme of civilization. He assured the Saxons that the aim of Charles and of the French bishops, under the pretext of humanity and the desire of saving their souls, was to subject both their minds and bodies; and, in abolishing the religious rites and ancient customs of their ancestors, to impose on them a yoke, which, when too late, they would feel insupportable.

Inflames
them

Inflamed by such a doctrine, addressed to them with simple but enthusiastic eloquence, the Saxons rose with a religious and patriotic fury, attacked the missionaries and every person of clerical appearance, forced them to flee from the country, razed the churches, and expressed the highest indignation against every thing connected with France¹⁸.

to rebellion.

Charles and his predecessors had employed every kind of expedient in vain, to subject and restrain this people. To have granted them absolute and independent sovereignty, was to have exposed the

¹⁸ Ansharius in vit. Sancti Villehadi.

eastern

eastern provinces of France to perpetual incursions and plunder. There seemed nothing therefore remaining, but to adopt the severest possible measures, cut off entirely their leaders, deluge the whole country with the blood of the people, or transplant them, and repeople the land with new colonies.

A. D. 781.

On these principles, and according to this plan, Charles proceeded from the beginning, or followed it, as new occurrences suggested, or rendered it eligible and necessary. Having received information of the persecution of the teachers of the gospel, and of all the official persons under the government of France; of the return of Witikind from Denmark, whether he had formerly fled for refuge; and of the general revolt of Saxony; he sent orders to his kinsman Count Teuderic, to assemble as many troops as he possibly could on the banks of the Rhine, and without delay proceed against the rebels. Teuderic performed his duty with alacrity and promptitude; but three subordinate generals, envious of his superiority, and jealous of the reputation which he might acquire by sharing in their success, resolved to act without his orders, on their own principles, and for their own honour. Not waiting for his directions, they broke up their camp, and marched with precipitation against the Saxons, as an enemy whom they despised, and whom they were confident they must conquer.

Witikind with his Saxons was prepared for their approach. He had intelligence of their march, and of the disposition of their generals; and had his army drawn up in the order of battle before the camp, which the French in their folly expected so easily to storm and to plunder. He endured their first onset, which, as usual, was violent; then suddenly extend-

Defeats the
French,
A. D. 782.

A. D. 782.

extending his line to both right and left, he attacked them on both flanks with such success, as threw them almost instantly into disorder. Great numbers were slain, and among others two generals, four counts, and twenty-four other persons of distinction. The remainder of the army fled to Teuderic's camp, carrying the mournful tidings of their rashness and calamity.

Charles no sooner heard of the defeat, than he raised another army, and led it himself into Saxony. Every hostile appearance was dissipated as he approached. Witikind fled again to Denmark. The chief nobility and principal officers were summoned, and came, under awful apprehensions of their fate, within the lines of an immense French army. On being questioned about their perpetual violation of treaties, and their endless turbulence and hostilities, they endeavoured to exculpate themselves, and meanly throw the blame on their absent leader Witikind. "He could not have committed these outrages," replied Charles, "without your countenance and assistance. Too long continued lenity, and my humane attempts to civilize and save you, have only encouraged your licentiousness and rebellion. An example of extreme severity seems absolutely necessary to subdue the ferocity, and to quiet the restless spirit of your countrymen." On a signal given, they were surrounded and disarmed; four thousand five hundred of them were selected, and being conducted to Verden, were beheaded.

4,500 of
them be-
headed

A. D. 783.

The awful fate of their leaders at first threw the Saxons into general consternation, which was succeeded by rage. They ran to arms, and cried for vengeance. Witikind returned, and headed the general insurrection. The war continued almost without intermission, bloody and destructive, for two

two years. The French defeated them in three successive engagements; the country was desolated; and the spirit of the leaders seeming somewhat broken, Charles relented. He deputed some of the most respectable of his prisoners to wait on Witikind, to study to conciliate him and the other chiefs; to represent the awful distress of the country, and the danger, unless they speedily submitted, of their being utterly exterminated.

A. D. 783.

Witikind and Albion, another chief, embraced the opportunity of negotiation. On receiving hostages, they dismissed their army; waited on Charles; were gained by his attentions and kindness; accompanied him into France, where they were instructed and baptized; and on their return to Saxony, they lived and died in the faith of the Christian religion¹⁹. Their example had great influence on their countrymen, but it was far from being either general or lasting. Their minds were irreconcilable to the dominion of France. The least irritation provoked them anew to rebellion; and when they had an opportunity, they massacred in cold blood the governors, counts, bishops, or other official persons, military, civil, or religious.

Witikind
submits,
A. D. 785.

At last Charles forced ten thousand of them to leave their country, and settle in Flanders. They carried their spirit with them, and rendered that country proverbial. Others he carried into Italy; and in the room of both, settled colonies from the north-east of Germany.

Saxony co-
lonised.

Even those whom he allowed to remain, were deprived of their customary privileges. No Saxon was permitted to succeed to any patrimony, but by donation from the French king. He oftener con-

¹⁹ Annal. Poetæ Saxonici, lib. ii. Eginhart ad ann. 783, 786.

A. D. 785. veyed their heritage to the new colonists, whom he had introduced for the very purpose of humbling and subduing them. This remedy was altogether extremely severe, but it proved effectual.

Bavaria.

Bavaria was little better than Saxony; but its rebellions were owing rather to its duke, than to the temper of the people. Tassillon was Charles's kinsman, and sometimes on that account trusted to his lenity. He had often been treated with kindness, when his conduct merited indignation. He had allied himself to the Lombards while their kingdom remained, and hoped thereby to maintain his sovereignty and independence against France. Since that time he had engaged in intrigues with the Saxons, and was not unfrequently the means of encouraging their insurrections. Three French armies brought him with all contrition to the feet of the French monarch, but it was only a feigned, or a temporary penitence. He entered into a secret treaty with the duke of Benevento, and with the empress Irene; and he engaged the Huns of the Danube to invade the French dominions in Germany.

A. D. 788.

Charles seeming unacquainted with his intrigues and practices, convened an assembly of the states of that district which comprehended Bavaria. The duke attended, not suspecting that his conduct was known, and was arrested and tried. His own subjects were his principal accusers; they dreaded the consequences of his turbulent temper, and knew that they should be the principal sufferers. The proof was complete; he was convicted, and condemned by that assembly to be beheaded: But the king, still unwilling to shed the blood of his kinsman, changed that punishment into perpetual confinement in a monastery. Bavaria

was

was deprived of its sovereignty, and united to France²⁰. A. D. 788.

The Huns, according to their treaty with Tasillon and the empress Irene, invaded the German states, and were defeated. The death of the duke of Benevento and of his son, opportunely prevented his people from being involved. His surviving son, educated as an hostage in the court of France, was firmly attached to Charles; and contrary to the advice of the pope, received from him the investiture of his father's dominions. The imperial army, headed by Adalgise, son of the late king of the Lombards, was entirely routed in Calabria; and thus ended that powerful confederacy which threatened the annihilation of the French interest in Italy²¹.

While the king was engaged in Germany, he discovered the conspiracy of Pepin, his eldest and illegitimate son. Pepin was by no means satisfied that his younger brothers should be exalted to sovereignty, while he enjoyed neither honour nor power. Feigning sickness when he ought to have accompanied his father, he remained at home, and entered into the most undutiful and treasonable cabals and designs. His guilt was proved, and he and his principal associates were condemned to die; but his father pardoned him, on condition that he retired to confinement in a monastery²².

Pepin the elder's confinement.

Peace now prevailed universally over the empire; assemblies were held for the purposes of general regulation and legislation; enquiries were instituted; and improvements attempted, in the various departments of the state; and attention to the arts

²⁰ Eginhart vit. Carol. Mag. ²¹ Id. ibid. et Annal.

²² Eginhart ad ann. 811. et in vit. Caroli Magni.

and

A. D. 788.

and sciences in their declining and very obscure state, was renewed and encouraged.

The canal.

The difficulty and expence of conveying provisions and warlike stores for the army in eastern expeditions, had been often observed and experienced. There was a general want of easy and frequent intercourse and commerce betwixt the nations both of the eastern and western part of the empire. A canal was therefore projected, and the noble enterprize was actually begun, of joining the German ocean to the Euxine sea. It was to have proceeded from the Rednit to the Athmul, the former of these flowing into the main near Bamberg, and so into the Rhine; the latter flowing into the Danube, between Ingolstadt and Ratisbon. The length of it was to have been about two leagues, and three hundred feet broad. But the obstacles, which proved insurmountable, show a great want of ingenuity, and the rude state of the arts in those times. The ground was generally soft and marshy; what was dug during the day, was generally filled up again, by the springing up of the mud, and shooting of the banks during the night. Every attempt to build was rendered ineffectual, from the want of a solid foundation. They were deficient in skill to supply it artificially, to drain the water which poured on them, or to consolidate and support the earth. They persevered therefore for about two thousand yards only, and abandoned the scheme as impracticable²³.

Greatness of Charles.

The constant success and extensive dominions of Charles, spread his fame to every quarter of the world. The Moors and Saracens respected and feared him; the patriarch of Jerusalem honoured him with many sacred gifts; and the king of Persia,

²³ Eginharti annales ad ann. 794.

Aaron Raschid, the great monarch and conqueror of the east, knowing how acceptable Jerusalem, and some other parts of the holy land, would be to the protector of the Catholic church of Christ, presented them to him as a pledge of his respect and friendship²⁴. His greatness seemed superior to the ordinary rank and title of king. Many sovereigns were dependent on him. A great part of Europe was subject to his empire, which was at least equal to the empire of Constantinople in extent, and considerably superior to it in respectability and power. A. D. 788.

The empress Irene had governed long after the death of her husband Leo IV., as regent, during the minority of her son; and her administration was not without external splendour. But she was bigotted and cruel, regardless of humanity, and of the reproaches of conscience. Constantine, her son, had assumed the reins of government, but proving early unsuccessful, was easily persuaded to recal his mother to his counsel and aid. Her ambition became insatiable; she conspired against her own son, that she might have no political rival, and put out both his eyes. He languished a short time and died, and she was proclaimed sole empress of Constantinople²⁵. A. D. 796.

Irene was a profound politician. She understood that Charles indulged the hope of uniting the eastern and western empire in his person, and he had cast his eye on Sicily as the first and most important step in his projected conquests; it was the principal magazine of the Greeks, and the chief residence of the governor of Italy. She discovered his plan in time to frustrate it; and she proposed,

²⁴ Eginhart in vita, et Annal. ad ann. 808.

²⁵ Theophanes, P. Daniel, tom. i.

A. D. 796.

Ambitious
of the Im-
perial title.

or encouraged him to propose, another plan, by which she meant at least to flatter him. She gave him reason to hope, by marrying her, that he might obtain the eastern empire and the Imperial title. He readily grasped at the offer, and sent special ambassadors to negotiate so important a treaty; but they were not long at Constantinople, when a revolution took place, which totally frustrated the end of the embassy, and disappointed in that quarter his hope of empire. The various intrigues of the empress, and the conspiracies of her enemies, ended finally in her being dethroned and banished, and in the peaceable establishment of the patrician Nicephorus on the Imperial throne.

As soon as the state of his affairs would permit, Nicephorus dispatched ambassadors to France, to state the circumstances of the revolution, and its issue in his favour; to vindicate himself, and to solicit the continuance of that alliance which had for some time happily subsisted between the two empires. These ambassadors were received, and sumptuously entertained at the court of France, with a pomp and elegance which might bear a comparison with that of a Byzantine or Persian court. They were introduced through four great halls, magnificently and richly decorated. In each of them, the officers of state and of the household attended in their most elegant apparel, and received them in the most stately, but respectful manner. On entering the first hall, and seeing the constable seated on a kind of throne with suitable attendants, they prostrated themselves, to worship him in the eastern manner. They were undeceived however, and led into the second hall, where they were received by the count of the palace. Having no doubt that he was the king, they were presenting their homage to him; when, again interrupted, they were led

led to the presence of the grand steward in the third apartment; and thence to the fourth, where the chamberlain appeared to them certainly as the monarch. The lords in waiting here led them into the presence chamber, and presented them to Charles. Richly adorned with gold and precious stones, he stood by a window amidst his family, conversing familiarly with them. He was resting his hand with particular confidence on bishop Hetton's shoulder, and showing a marked attention to him who had been treated with some neglect at the court of Constantinople. The ambassadors observed it, and indicated their fears; but their apology was accepted, and they were graciously received²⁶. The limits of the two empires, where any difference subsisted, were adjusted, and a perpetual alliance between them was confirmed.

A. D. 796.
Does not obtain it by Irene,

Charles's ambition of an imperial title was however gratified. On the death of Adrian, Leo III. was unanimously elected pope. Two nephews of Adrian, Pascal and Campule, had assisted at the election, but afterwards finding their authority diminished under Leo, and their services, as they imagined, ill requited, they resolved to dethrone him, and with their friends to elect another, who might shew them more respect and gratitude. On the 25th April, being the feast of St. Mark, they way-laid him in the procession, dispersed his attendants by an armed band, pulled him from his horse, trampled on him, and intended his death. Being rescued, however, through the relentsings of the assassins, and by the interposition of the duke

A. D. 799.

²⁶ Tunc consternati missi Græcorum deficiente spiritu et consilio perduto, muti et exanimis in pavementum deciderunt: quos benignissimus Imperator elevatos, consolatoriis allocutionibus animare conatus est. Sangallensis, lib. ii. § 9. de Gest. Car. M.

A. D. 799. of Spoleto, he gave notice to Charles of the treatment which he had received, and of the farther designs of his adversaries. He waited on him personally at Paderborne, stated all the circumstances of his persecution, and arranged with the king the plan of his restoration; and probably too, the recompence which was due for it to the French monarch, who, like his predecessors, stood always readily forward as the protector of the Catholic church.

A. D. 800. Having in the mean time sent the pope with a suitable escort to Rome, he followed himself in November, and assisted in an assembly, where the pope was fully vindicated: The aspersions which his enemies had thrown on him, in order to justify their own conduct, or mitigate their guilt, were declared groundless: their malice and cruelties were severely reprehended; their lives were spared, and they were ordered into banishment.

Leo being himself popular, interested the people still more by the sufferings which he had endured. His present safety, his vindication, and the just condemnation and banishment of his enemies; the regard and activity of Charles for religion and the church; and the general importance and solemnity of the occasion, diffused an universal joy over Rome. Nothing was heard after the breaking up of the assembly, but the acclamations of the people, and their devout praises to God for a prince so great, so pious, and so humane ²⁷.

but from
Leo III.

No honour or title seemed too great for a prince so generally and extensively respectable. On the present occasion, the pope owed him great obligations, and the clergy and people were disposed to approve of the highest respect and dignity which

²⁷ Baronius ad ann. 800.

could

could be conferred on him. The ensuing solemn feast of Christmas seemed a most favourable season for bestowing on Charles the title and rank of emperor; and no one seems to have doubted that the bishop of Rome, with the consent of his clergy, was the person who could and ought to confer that title and rank. A. D. 800.

There was apparently no plan, no previously arranged ceremony; Charles himself was understood to be averse from the proposal, and ignorant of the step which Leo was about to take, in order to raise him to the rank of emperor.

On Christmas day, while Charles attended high mass, and was worshipping on his knees before the altar in the church of St. Peter, the pope respectfully approached him, and solemnly put the Imperial crown on his head, proclaiming, "Long live Charles Augustus! crowned by the hand of God: Life and victory to the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" He was seated on a throne prepared for him, and the clergy and people, from circle to circle, proclaimed, "Long live Charles Augustus, emperor of the Romans!" The pope then did him homage, in the manner in which his predecessors had been accustomed to do to the former emperors of Rome; formally conveyed that title to him; presented him with the Imperial robe; and then conducted him from the church to his palace, amidst the highest approbation and rejoicings of the people²⁸.

After spending the winter at Rome in much imperial shew, and taking proper measures for securing its order and peace, he retired some time to Pavia, where his court was kept in the utmost magnificence and splendour.

²⁸ Eginhart in Annal. Theophanes in Chronic.

A. D. 800.

Extent of
the empire.

The extent of the empire was nearly doubled since the commencement of the reign of Charles, whom we may now with propriety call Charlemagne, or Charles the Great. At his accession, it extended from the Rhine to the Loire, and from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean; besides that part of Germany which lies betwixt Saxony, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Sala, and the kingdoms of Alemanni and Bavaria. To these Charlemagne added those parts of the south of France held or claimed by other princes, Aquitaine, Gascony, the north of Spain as far as the river Ebro, all Italy to the north of Calabria, and what is now the kingdom of Naples, Saxony, Pannonia, Dacia, Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, excepting some of the maritime cities which were by treaty allowed to remain attached to Constantinople, and all the barbarous tribes between the Rhine and the Vistula, as the Sorabians, the Abodrites, the Bohemians, and the Sclavonians.

His allies.

Charles was no less eminent in the number and greatness of his allies. The kings of Galicia and Asturia were attached to him by the most friendly treaties and intercourse. The kings of Scotland called him their lord. The king of Persia, who reigned then over a great part of Asia, preferred his friendship to that of any other prince or potentate, and presented him with the then precious gift of the Holy Land. The emperors of Constantinople, even after he assumed the name of emperor, and appeared a rival in name as well as in power, cultivated his friendship, and highly respected him.

In the very height of all this greatness and prosperity, however, while he was yet healthy, and but 64 years of age, he thought of his mortality, and was anxious to prevent the discords which might arise in his family on his dissolution. He
assembled

assembled the states of France at Thionville, and represented to them his desire of establishing the empire on the most durable foundation. Having three sons who had already furnished proofs that they were worthy to reign, he said that their affection for one another, their attachment to the people, and the people's respect for them, were pledges of their future and permanent union. At the same time that prudence, parental affection, and humanity, all suggested the necessity and duty of making such arrangements and provisions, as might prevent the very suspicion of discord in his family; he proposed a testament as the best means of accomplishing this end, to be subscribed by him and the states, who, he trusted, would see it observed and enforced. He then produced, and read that testament. His moveable property he divided into three parts; two of which, subdivided into one and twenty parts, according to the number of metropolitan cities, he destined as a fund for the poor of these cities; the other third he subdivided into four parts, one of which after his death was to be added to the funds of the above one and twenty cities; a second was to go to his sons and daughters equally; a third to the poor in the ordinary way of distribution; and a fourth was to be given to the servants of the palace, both male and female. To this third of four parts he made a very rich addition, that the several parts of it might be more valuable, and worthy the acceptance of the various legatees. Some vessels, books, and ornamental furniture, he ordered to be sold. One silver square table, inscribed with the plan of the city of Constantinople, he bequeathed to Saint Peter's church at Rome. Another of a circular form, representing the city of Rome, he left to the bishop of Ravenna. A third, still more elegant

A. D. 806.

His testament.

A. D. 816.

Death of his
sons Pepin
and Charles.

and valuable, on which the world was delineated; and a fourth, of gold, he appointed to be sold, and the price to be added to the third of four parts for his heirs and the poor²⁹. Whether he absolutely completed the deed of division of the empire among his sons or not, it is certain that Lewis only survived him to inherit it³⁰. Pepin Carloman died at the age of thirty-three; and Charles, his second son, died the year following.

The affectionate temper and good conduct of his son Lewis, somewhat consoled him after their death, and at the same time increased his anxiety for his preservation. The father enjoyed the son's campaigns, victories, and general success in Spain, as if he had taken an active part in them himself. Yet when he beheld from his window the Norman ships invading the empire, "What may be expected, my son," said he, "when I am gone, if now they thus insult us both?"

They had for some years past sailed a great way up the rivers, alarmed the inhabitants, and, having secured some plunder on board their ships, always retired. This mode of war was common to the Danes and Normans, and was attended with no great difficulty when the marine of France was yet in its infancy, and when artillery, now so successful in guarding the mouths of rivers, was altogether unknown.

The age, the growing infirmities of the emperor, the tenderness with which he loved Lewis now his only son, and the example of other kings and em-

²⁹ Eginhart in vit. Car. Mag. c. 33.

³⁰ Eginhart, his secretary and son-in-law, says he did not, c. 33. Goldast, tom. i. p. 145. and Duchene, vol. ii. say that he did, of which they give an extract. It might be defective in some point of form. The deed of moveables was subscribed by him, the states, and the pope.

perors,

perors, made him resolve to associate him with himself in the administration of the empire. So far from thinking of such exaltation, or of aspiring after any earthly power, Lewis was rather purposing to devote himself, agreeably to the custom of those times, to religious retirement and study in a monastery. Though his father approved of his spirit and disposition, he dissuaded him from realising his purpose; and convinced him, that it was more his duty, and would be more acceptable to God, to serve him in the station where Providence had placed him, than by deserting it for any other.

A general assembly of the states, therefore, was convened at Aix la Chapelle, when the emperor represented to them his intention of associating his son with himself in the government. All approved of his intention, and a day was fixed for the ceremony. On the day appointed, the lords spiritual and temporal, the bishops and abbots, dukes and counts, walked in procession to the church, followed by the emperor in his robes, with a crown of gold on his head, and leaning himself on his son. They entered the magnificent church which he had lately built, and advanced to the altar, which was richly adorned. On it was placed the crown destined for Lewis. Both kneeling devoutly, prayed to God. After which the Emperor arising, thus addressed his son:

“ The rank, my son, to which Almighty God
 “ hath this day raised you, obliges you more than
 “ ever to revere his sovereign majesty, to love his
 “ excellence, and to observe with fidelity all his
 “ ordinances and commandments. In becoming
 “ an emperor, you become the father and pro-
 “ tector of his church. On you chiefly will de-
 “ pend the good order, and the purity of his mi-
 “ nisters

A. D. 810.

“ nisters and people. Though you be their master, consider them as your brethren; treat them as your friends, even as the members of your family; make yourself happy in advancing and securing their happiness. Fear not to employ justice, and the authority with which you are invested, to humble and to restrain the wicked. Be the refuge and consolation of the poor. Make choice of governors and judges who fear God, and whose spirit is superior to partiality and corruption; and beware of ever suspecting easily the integrity and good behaviour of those whom you have once honoured with offices of dignity and trust. Study to live and reign unblameably before God and men, remembering the account which you must finally give to the Sovereign Ruler and Judge of all.”

He then directed Lewis to lift the crown from the altar, and in token that he received and held it from God only, to put it on his own head. The ceremony concluded with their receiving the holy sacrament together, after which they returned in procession to the palace³¹.

A. D. 814.

In a few days they parted, with much tenderness and many tears. It was the last time they were to see, and personally to enjoy one another. Lewis returned to Aquitaine, and was received by his court and subjects with a respect and honour suitable to his recent high rank and dignity.

Death of
Charle-
magne.

In the month of January following, his father was seized with a fever and pleurisy, which cut him off in a few days. During his illness, he was much employed in devotional exercises, and expired uttering these words, “ Lord! into thy hands “ I commend my spirit.” He died in the seventy-

³¹ Thegan. in vit. Ludov. pii Chronic. Moissiac.

first year of his age, the forty-seventh of his reign, and the fourteenth of his Imperial dignity ³². A. D. 148

Charlemagne was of a robust and firm constitution, rather above the common stature. His person was altogether manly and majestic; his countenance open and agreeable; his eyes large, lively, and engaging; his nose aquiline, and his voice clear, though, considering his size, rather feeble.

His mental talents were more solid than brilliant. A comprehensive and clear understanding, improved by experience, rendered his judgment decisive, and his resolution firm. His mind and habits were formed for extensive business. He accounted it no trouble to rise during the night from his bed, to exercise authority in civil matters; and he often administered justice, or gave orders to the various officers of state, when he was dressing himself. His just discernment of human character made him generally happy in the choice of his public officers, and of course almost uniformly successful in his military enterprises, as well as in his ordinary civil administration. He formed his plans with sagacity and prudence, began them with caution, and in their execution was determined and vigorous. His character.

As a monarch, there is no doubt that he shed much blood. Some apology, however, may be made for him. In every case where he engaged in war, he seems to have done it from a sense of duty. Ambition certainly mingled its influence; for men, even in their purest and best state, are seldom influenced by single motives, and it cannot be denied that he was ambitious. In the Italian wars, to which he was called by the bishop of Rome, he

³² Eginhart in vit. Car. Mag. Thegan. in vit. Ludov. pii, c. 7. Engolism. c. 24.

appeared

A. D. 814.

appeared to be discharging the duty which he owed to the church and religion, in protecting her against her enemies. In the Spanish war, to which also he was invited by the princes of that country, he appeared as the protector of the oppressed, and as strengthening the barrier of the church on that side against the infidels, so formidable in preceding reigns. The turbulence of the people, or of their princes, in Aquitaine, Bavaria, Saxony, and other parts of Germany, seems always to have been the occasion of the wars and severities with which he visited them. Though these reasons may not altogether justify him, they ought to have alleviated a little the acrimony with which some writers have treated his character.

As a man, he was humane and generous. He exercised mercy and compassion, as far as was consistent with justice and wise policy. This temper indeed being sometimes abused, was the cause of subsequent severities. Both his friends and enemies carried their trust in his forbearance and forgiveness to an extreme, and thereby provoked his just resentment. His donations were frequent, liberal, and cheerfully bestowed; yet he has been reckoned a strict economist. It was probably his attention to economy, among other circumstances, which enabled him to be so extensively and so heartily liberal. He seldom enriched those who served him, but he generally pleased them. His manner was so affable and obliging, that it gave a double value to every thing he said or did.

He was so illiterate in the earlier part of his life, that he could not write even his own name. Princes were not allowed ordinary education, lest it should enervate them, and disqualify them for the business of war. Yet he was fond of learning and learned men. He gave the utmost encouragement to the literature

literature of the times. He invited Alcuin, a famous teacher, from England, and by his direction instituted schools and philosophical academies. Schools, with proper masters from Italy, and other places where they could be found, were ordained to be opened in all the cathedral churches and rich abbacies; so that before his death the ecclesiastics began to understand the holy scriptures, and the monks their psalter.

A. D. 814.

According to the sense in which religion was understood in those times, he appears through the whole of his life to have been pious and devout. He was attentive to ritual worship, and to religious men; and like his predecessors, erected many sacred edifices. His moral conduct corresponded to his religious principles, and to the rude laws by which society was then regulated³³.

He was buried at Aix la Chapelle. His body was embalmed, and placed in a vault on a throne of gold, having on the Imperial robes, above a hair cloth vest which he was accustomed to wear. A richly ornamented sword lay by his side, with a pilgrim's scrip, which he used in going to Rome. He held the gospels in his hand, written in letters of gold. His head was adorned with a chain of gold in the form of a diadem, enclosing a piece of the wood of the true cross. His face was covered with a handkerchief. A golden sceptre and buckler hung

³³ Eginhart, c. 19. delicately alludes to a suspicion of scandal, or disorders in his family. Speaking of his daughters, he says, "*Quæ cum pulcherrimæ essent, et ab eo plurimum diligerentur, mirum dictu quod nullam earum cuiquam aut suorum, aut exterorum nuptum dare voluit; sed omnes secum usque ad obitum suum in domo sua retinuit, dicens se earum contubernio carere non posse, ac propter hoc, licet alias felix, adversæ fortunæ malignitatem expertus est, quod tamen ita dissimulavit, ac si de iis nunquam alicujus probri suspicio orta, vel fama dispersa fuisset.*"

before

A. D 814.

before him. The sepulchre being filled with riches and perfumes, was securely shut and sealed, and over it was erected a gilded arch with the following inscription :

“ Sub hoc Conditorio situm est Corpus Karoli Magni, atque orthodoxi Imperatoris, Qui Regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos 47 feliciter rexit. Decessit Septuagenarius Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCXIV. Indictione VII. V. KAL. FEBRUARIAS³⁴. ”

³⁴ Eginhart in vit. Car. Magni.

CHAP. II.

The History of Religion in France till the Death
of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

SECT. I.

The History of Religion in France previous to the Introduction of Christianity.

THE influence of religion on human conduct seems generally acknowledged both in the opinions and practice of mankind. It appears intended by the great Creator to arise out of that relation which he hath constituted betwixt himself and mankind; and while it suggests and enjoins important duties, it annexes to their observance the purest pleasure, and the most durable enjoyment. In order to serve its proper end, it would require to be communicated and maintained in purity, and to be regulated and applied with wisdom. Yet few things have been more corrupted and abused by man, to whose care, like his other talents, it hath been committed. He hath never been able to divest himself altogether of the feelings of it implanted originally in his nature, but he has often lost sight of its object, misunderstood its nature and duties, and made it assume as many forms and aspects as there have been ages and countries in the world. His relation to his Maker being invariable, religion ought to be the same in every climate and period of society; but religious opinions, and ceremonies
of

of worship, have varied according as men have been rude or civilised, ignorant or enlightened by revelation, governed by fancy or policy. The period and the country now under consideration will exemplify these observations, in its frequent revolutions, and various appearances of religion. The Gauls, the Germans, the Greeks and Romans, the Christians, and the different sects of each, had their peculiar religious system, which we shall endeavour with suitable brevity to describe and trace.

None of the ancient writers gives us a full and satisfactory account of the religion of the Gauls; but many of them notice different circumstances respecting it, which, being collected, may enable us to form a tolerable, though an imperfect idea of their system¹.

Cæsar divides the whole people of Gaul into two parts, the nobles, and the common people. The common people, he observes, are generally in a state of servitude; the nobles he subdivides into two classes, the Druids and Equites.

Druids.

The Druids were the priests, who gave their name and a peculiar character to their religion. Their name may be derived from either the Greek or Celtic word signifying an oak, which they highly venerated, and in forests of which they offered their sacrifices, and performed their various rites of worship. They presided in every religious institution and exercise, taught and inculcated religious doctrines and duties, offered sacrifices, and performed

¹ The ancient writers on this subject are chiefly, Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi., Tacitus de morib. Germ., Strabo lib. iv., Diodor. Sicul. lib. v., Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xv., Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1., Pompon. Mela, &c.

The modern are, Keysser de Antiq. Celt., Pelloutier Hist. Celt., Claverius, Toland, M^cPherson, Brueker or Enfield's Hist. of Philos. &c.

the various ritual services. Their persons were sacred; they were exempted from all taxes and military services; and they were so universally respected and trusted, as to engross the chief honours and power of the state. Such was their authority, and the veneration in which they were held, that, in the very crisis of military enthusiasm and rage, their appearance overawed the warriors, their command suspended the battle, and their persuasion reconciled the hostile armies. Numbers of young men of the highest distinction attended them for instruction, and were ambitious of being admitted to the rank, and of attaining to the honours, of Druids. The Druids determined all civil and criminal causes, and settled controversies, public and private. If a crime were committed, if a murder happened, if there was any dispute about heritage or boundaries, it was referred to them to decide; they fixed the kind or degree of reward or punishment, and from their sentence there was no appeal. If any person, private or public, did not submit to their award, he was interdicted, or excommunicated; that is, excluded not merely from religious, but also from civil society; and all men abandoned him as accursed, as pestilential, and as dangerous.

An Archdruid presided over the inferior Druids, Archdruid. whose authority was supreme. On his death, the most respectable of all the other priests succeeded; but if there were several equally respectable, an election was made by vote, and sometimes the contest ended in arms.

The inferior priests were divided into three Three inferior orders. classes: the Bards, the Vates or Faids, and Druids, properly so called. The first were the historians or poets, for all their records were in verse; the second were the sacred prophets, religious poets, and

and musicians; and the third were the officiating priests of the nation. They resided, as occasion required, in private families, in the groves, or places of worship; sometimes in colleges or fraternities, at other times in the court, or in the camp.

Revenue.

Their revenues arose from the rewards and donations which they received for their services; and considering their influence and authority, both in private and public, they must have been considerable. They were entitled to a share of the offerings and sacrifices presented to the gods; they partook of the spoils of war, which, indeed, they were often called to divide and administer; and their perquisites of office were numerous, for intercessions and prayers, for divination, for music, and other means of religious edification and entertainment. Cæsar speaks generally of the greatness of their privileges and profits, without enumerating them; but it is believed, that besides the particulars of revenue which have been mentioned, they collected an annual tax in the end of October, for a new communication of fire, which all were obliged then to receive from them, for the ensuing winter.

Druidesses.

There were also female priestesses of different orders. Some lived in great retirement; and pretended to supernatural knowledge and power, to foresee and foretell future events, to raise or calm tempests, and to cure diseases. Some were the assistants and companions of the priests; and a third class performed the servile work about their temples, sacrifices, and dwellings. Tacitus alludes to these, in his account of the invasion of Britain by a Roman army under Suetonius²; and from

² Lib. xiv. Annal.

them

them probably arose the belief, so prevalent among the northern nations, of the number, supernatural power, and malignant disposition of witches; for by their influence over their own people, by their secret devices and machinations, and by their bold exploits, they astonished and affrighted the Romans, and other new settlers; who had invaded and occupied their property and territories³.

Cæsar informs us, that the chief doctrines of the Doctrines. Druids, were the immortality and transmigration of the soul, and the existence and power of the gods: that they entertained various opinions concerning the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the earth and world; and the general nature of things. Some of their opinions they retained as mysteries, like many other of the priests and sages of antiquity, and communicated them to those only of their disciples in whom they confided, and whom, after many years trial, they ventured to initiate. But such as those above stated they taught with eloquence, and employed them successfully in enforcing the precepts and duties of morality. Their doctrines and tenets were loaded, however, with fables. They were contained in thousands of verses, which their disciples committed to memory, and twenty years were sometimes spent in learning to understand, or repeat them. They were cautious about exposing the mysteries of religion to common eyes, which they thought might happen were they written; and they were solicitous to improve the memory by such laborious and interesting exercises⁴.

³ We find similar priestesses among the eastern Magi, and a similar superstition prevalent among the vulgar in almost every country.

⁴ Cæsar de Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 13.

At a certain season of the year, they met in the territory of the Carnutes (Chartrain), which is understood to be the centre of Gaul, on consecrated ground. Thither all repaired who had any subject of controversy to adjust, and submitted implicitly to their judgment. A custom which, it is supposed, was introduced from Britain into Gaul; and now, says Cæsar, such as wish to be well acquainted with the practice, travel thither to learn it.

Their gods.

It is probable that they believed in one living and true God, and that this was one of the opinions which they retained as a mystery, unfit for common minds; but this Deity they represented in various forms, and under different characters and names.

Above all, they venerated an early ancestor, whom Cæsar calls Dis (Pluto), and from whom they all believed they were descended. Hence, says Cæsar, they terminate and reckon spaces of time, not by days, but by nights, and they so observe birth-days, and the beginnings of months and years, as to reckon the day in the order of following the night.

Hefus, the same with Mars, was their god of war. Taranis was the author and director of evil, the god of fire, and of thunder. The sun was worshipped under his name; and also as Bel, Belenus, and afterwards as Apollo and Vulcan. The famous circles of stones, found yet on some eminences, convenient for contemplating him, were the temples of the sun, where the sacred fire

1. Cæsar de Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 3.

2. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. vii. c. 9.

3. Cæsar de Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16.

was kept, and whence it was solemnly and annually communicated*.

Mercury is the god, says Cæsar, whom they chiefly worship, and of whom they have many images. They reckon him the inventor of the arts, the god of highways and of travellers, of treasure and of merchandise. They place Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, next in order after him, and their opinion of these is like that of other nations; that Apollo presides in medicine; Minerva in trade and manufactures; Jupiter in the government of heaven, and Mars in war. To the latter, when about to fight, they dedicate for the most part whatever spoils they may obtain by victory.

The worship of the Gauls corresponded to their species of priesthood, and to the supposed nature of their gods. Their worship.

One part of worship arises directly and naturally from the wants and fears of men. The soul, filled with awe, yields a reasonable homage to the Maker and Ruler of the world. The heart desires, in prayer, the means of supplying its wants, or of relieving its distresses. Anxious and urgent, it would part with and sacrifice any thing, even all its worldly substance, to obtain the favour of Deity, and the object of its prayer. But a modest mind, a mind conscious of depraved affections and of criminal passions, feels itself unworthy to enter the divine presence, and to offer any sacrifice or prayer. It requires the service and intercession of others, supposed personally or officially more holy

* This bears a striking resemblance to the idolatry of the Persians, and contributes to demonstrate the common origin of nations.

and acceptable. Hence the origin and use of priests, and of sacrifices. To this indeed we may add the early institution and great end of sacrifices by Divine authority, and that the nations, descending from one source, have retained the practice, but have lost, by imperfect tradition, the knowledge of its origin and author.

Like the other nations of antiquity, the Gauls sacrificed animals, and those chiefly in which wealth then consisted, as sheep and oxen. But as the value of a sacrifice was to be estimated, not merely by quantity but by its preciousness, a respect was had to the quality of the animal, and to the regard borne to it by its owner. The more useful, interesting, or dear, the more valuable and acceptable the sacrifice. Hence men sacrificed sometimes other men, and sometimes themselves. They even fancied a value to arise from the degree of suffering with which the creature was made to expire. In irremediable diseases, says Cæsar, in warlike and other perils, men are sacrificed as victims by the Gauls, or they vow that they will sacrifice their own lives. In such sacrifices they employ the ministry of the Druids, and think that the majesty of the gods will not be satisfied for the life of a man, with any thing less than the life of a man. Such sacrifices therefore are publicly instituted.

Some, he adds, have images of great magnitude, whose members of woven twigs they fill with living men, and setting fire to them, consume them.

In one thing their conduct seems inconsistent with sanctity: they suppose those victims most agreeable to the gods, who have been apprehended for theft, robbery, and other crimes; when these

these fail, they do not hesitate to sacrifice the innocent⁹.

Gratitude, though less powerful and urgent, is no less natural to the human mind than fear; and the proper expression of gratitude is sacrifice and praise. Hence the offerings and sacrifices of thanksgiving, sacred hymns, and music, and that class of priests instituted and maintained for this part of divine worship. Both the hymns and music, however, of the ancient Gauls are now lost, and their nature is unknown. Considering the oak as the emblem or residence of Deity, they venerated it with a peculiar satisfaction and worship. On the sixth day of the new moon in March, they sought the mistletoe (*viscum*), a plant, which sometimes is found attached to the oak, and on discovering it, they hailed it with exceeding joy; they made a great sacrifice, and fastened two white bulls by the horns under the oak; the Archdruid ascended the tree, and with a golden knife cut off the mistletoe, receiving it in his *sagum* or robe, amidst the shoutings of the people. Having descended, the bulls were slain, prayers and thanksgivings were offered, and the festival ended with feasting and rejoicing¹⁰. It seems vain to attempt any account of the cause of their high veneration of the oak, and especially of the mistletoe. Pliny says, they believed that every thing which grows upon the oak was the gift of heaven, and that the oak was preferred by Deity to every other tree; but this assertion affords no satisfaction. Perhaps the slow growth and duration of the oak might give rise to this veneration. It was the witness of past scenes, and the monument of many events and generations. The growth of the mistletoe, so small on a tree so hard and large; a

The Mistle-
toe.

⁹ Cæsar de Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 15.

¹⁰ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. c. 44.

a plant of a different species issuing from their favourite tree, was to them emblematical, mysterious, and calculated to excite their superstitious minds to wonder and to worship.

Temples.

The places where the Druids worshipped, corresponded somewhat to the ideas which they entertained of the nature of their gods. The deep dark recess of a forest or grove, seemed conformable to the worship of Dis, the god of night; but the lofty mount and cheerful eminence suited better the lively service of the god of day. They thought it unlawful to build covered temples to the gods. But both on the hills and in the groves, they constructed cromlechs, altars encompassed with a ditch, and circles of large stones. Many of these are still visible in different parts of Britain and Gaul, and in Anglesey, the favourite island of the Druids.

Altars.

On hills and other eminences they raised cairnedes, or cairns, over the urns of their illustrious ancestors, whom they associated with Deity. There too the sacred fires were kindled on the 6th of March, in honour of the sun; and on the 1st of November, in gratitude for the fruits of harvest.

Divination.

Their means of divination were various. The serpent's egg was said to be the production of many serpents entwined in one embrace. "I have seen it," says Pliny; "it is about the size of a moderate apple; its shell is a cartilaginous incrustation, having many small cavities, such as those on the legs of the polypus. It is worn by the Druids as their badge of office; and invested with which, they pretend to discover the secrets of nature and of providence, to cure diseases, to raise or calm tempests, and to foresee and declare future events."

In

In many things, there is a striking resemblance of the Celtic religion to that of the eastern and northern nations. The ancient patriarchs, and the nations contemporary with them and with the Israelites, worshipped, by means of sacrifices, on hills and in groves. The Persians worshipped by means of sacred fires, which represented the sun, the emblem of Deity.

With respect to the Germans, Cæsar informs Germans. us, that they differed much from the Gauls. "They have neither Druids," says he, "to preside in their worship, nor are they zealous in offering sacrifices. They admit those only into the number of their gods, whom they see, and whose influence they experience, as the sun, Vulcan, or fire, and the moon." "Of all the gods," says Tacitus, "they chiefly worship Mercury, to whom on certain days they Deities. think it lawful to offer human sacrifices; Hercules and Mars they propitiate with such animals as are legally offered. A part of the Suevi sacrifice also to Isis. What hath been the cause or origin of that foreign superstition," he adds, "I have not been able to learn, unless the image itself, formed like a boat or ship, be understood to intimate that it came from afar. From the greatness of the heavenly Beings, they think that they ought neither to be inclosed within walls, nor assimilated to any thing of the human form; they consecrate woods and groves; and whatever place inspires them with reverence, that they account a temple, and call by the name of their gods."

From the Edda, which contains the fabulous system of the theology of the northern nations, we learn, that the Germans believed in one Supreme Being,

Being, who is self-existent, eternal, omniscient, and unchangeable. Yet this Deity was received and worshipped under various other names and characters, as the god of thunder, of war, and of merchandize, as Twisto, Woden, Thor, and Freia; from whom four days of the week have derived their name; to which may be added Hertha, or the Earth, as described by Tacitus.

Doctrines.

The Germans and other northern nations farther believed in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution. Valhalla and Gimle were the abodes of the virtuous, and Niflheim and Nastrand were the dreary regions of the vicious and wicked. Their ideas of retribution were gross and sensual; they supposed that they corresponded to their ideas and sentiments in this world, of festivity and revenge, or of want and of mean subjection. They expected a general conflagration, and a regeneration of the world by fire ²³.

Sacrifices.

The northern nations were particular and gross in their superstitions. They abounded in sacrifices; and were studious to appropriate particular animals to each of their gods. Odin, or Woden, was supposed to delight in horses, dogs, cocks, and falcons; Thor in fat oxen and horses; and Freia in hogs ²⁴. The blood of the sacrifices was sprinkled on the people; the flesh was partly burnt, but a great part of it was reserved for the subsistence of the priests, and for general festivity. Their beverage on occasions of festivity was beer and ale; at every draught of which they acknowledged Deity, and implored some blessing on them-

²³ Strabo, lib. iv. Mallet's Northern Antiquities. Cluver. Germ. Antiq., and Abbe Fennel, tom. xxiv. Mem. de l'Acad. des belles Lettres.

²⁴ Leges Salicæ, tit. iii. § 18.

selves,

selves. Hence may be derived the custom of toasts among some of the northern nations.

On some occasions they offered human sacrifices, and particularly when solicitous to avert uncommon calamities. Like the Gauls they generally preferred captives and criminals, but on great emergencies the innocent, and even the noble, were sacrificed.

In worshipping, they often imprinted the figure of the subject of their prayer on a rock or tree.

Their hymns of praise were innumerable, and appropriated; those of war to Odin, of husbandry to Thor, and of love to Freia.

Their priests, who probably were patriarchal and ^{Priests,} hereditary, like those of all rude and superstitious nations, had much influence; but they do not appear, as in Gaul, to have engrossed all honour and power. They restricted themselves to the ritual duties of their sacred profession.

They had also priestesses and prophetesses, whom they highly venerated, and whom they chiefly employed in the offices of divination. "The Cimbrians," says Strabo¹², "are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses in white vestments, with canvas mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. Stalking through the camp with drawn swords, they strike the prisoners whom design or chance throws in their way; they drag them to a brazen kettle, mounted on a stage; ascending on it, they cut the throat of the victim, and from the manner in which the blood flows, or from inspecting the entrails, they judge of future events." Another mode of divination was by ^{Divination,} lots. The several pieces of a twig cut from a fruit-

¹² Lib. vii.

bearing tree, distinguished by peculiar marks, being scattered promiscuously on a white garment, were drawn and examined by the priest or the father of the family, and the omen was interpreted according to the twig or mark, probably some hieroglyphic, which was drawn.

They divined also by the singing of birds, and, like the Persians, by the snorting and neighing of sacred horses.

In calamitous wars they engaged a captive and a countryman of their own, selected for the purpose, in single combat, each with the arms of his nation, and interpreted the omen in favour of the people to whom the successful and victorious combatant belonged.¹⁶

In remote times they believed that covered temples were unsuitable to the majesty and immensity of Deity; but as they mingled with other nations, and especially with the Romans, they learned both to form images and idols, and to erect temples. One of these temples near Cologne was demolished by Thierry I.¹⁷

Thus it appears, that the religion of the Gauls and Germans differed considerably, though in several things we may observe a strong resemblance. The original and peculiar character of both gradually disappeared on their being invaded and conquered; and after their more familiar intercourse with the Romans, the vestiges of difference are scarcely discernible at the period when the gospel was propagated in these countries, or when Clovis with his Germans conquered Gaul.

Revolution
by means of
the Romans.

While the Druids retained their influence, it would have been extremely difficult either to civilize the Gauls, or to hold them in quiet subjection

¹⁶ Tacitus de Morib. Germ.

¹⁷ Vit. St. Gall.

to a foreign government. Such was their authority, that the Romans judged it necessary to employ severe measures to diminish and to ruin it. They put several of them to death, and banished others. Many of them fled into Germany, where temples were ordered to be built, and statues erected, as well as in Gaul; human sacrifices were prohibited; Roman citizens were commanded to abstain from all druidical rites and ceremonies; the schools of the Druids were abolished; their bards, their poets, and even their physicians, were persecuted. The people were ordained to accommodate themselves to the religion of the empire; and Roman deities, priests, and worship, were introduced generally over Gaul¹⁸.

Persecution
of the
Druids.

A tendency to this kind of policy, appears in the earliest notices which the Roman writers take of the Gauls and Germans. They carefully, for we cannot suppose that they ignorantly, called their gods by Roman names. We see this confusion of German, Gallic, and Roman polytheism and superstition increased, even between the times of Cæsar and Tacitus. The Gauls were glad, apparently to acquiesce in the opinions of their conquerors, hoping thereby to secure protection to their deities and priests, and quiet and freedom to themselves. Hence Jupiter, and Twisto, and Odin, Apollo, Thor, and Hesus, with their priests and worship, are confounded, particularly after the reign of Tiberius. An inscription on the walls of the city Sens shows, that a temple had been erected there to Vesta, surnamed the Mother. Marseilles, and other coast towns, had, five centuries before Christ, received a colony of Phocæans from Greece,

Greek colony at
Marseilles.

¹⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. et xxx. c. 1. Sueton. Vir. Claud. § 24. Strabo, lib. iv. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. xxiv.

and

and communicated their names of deities, and their customs, over the south of Gaul. Their subsequent commerce with the east increased this tendency to a change in religious opinions and practice, and might in later times maintain at least, if not form, some of the features in the religion of the Druids, which bear so strong a resemblance to the Oriental doctrines and superstition¹⁹.

Fall of superstition.

It was not owing, then, to any peculiar hatred of the religion of the Druids, and of their barbarous customs, that the Romans persecuted them, while they were accustomed to tolerate, and even to adopt the deities and worship of other nations; but to what they esteemed a necessary policy, in order to the effectual subjection and civilization of the Gauls.

Rise and progress of Christianity.

A similar policy led them to oppose and persecute Christianity; because they perceived in it a similar intolerant spirit, and a tendency to overthrow their superstition, and the customs and constitution which were founded upon it. In the former case, by killing and banishing the priests, on whom religion and religious authority depended, they were able to accomplish a religious revolution, to change names, opinions, and rites; but in the latter case, their severest and most general persecutions were ineffectual, because the Christian religion and its authority depended not on priests, nor on man, but on the influence and excellence of the doctrines of the gospel themselves, and on the heavenly spirit which accompanied them. Hence the same cause which made Druidism decline and fall, spread, increased, and finally established the gospel. The one was a change from a more bar-

¹⁹ Justin's Hist. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. xxiv.

barous and oppressive to a more refined and agreeable superstition; the other was a return from folly to reason, from error to truth and rectitude, from the basest servitude to the noblest freedom, from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the service and enjoyment of God.

SECT. II.

The History of Religion, and of Religious Controversy, from the Introduction of Christianity into France, till the Death of Charlemagne.

It is probable that the gospel was preached in Gaul by some of the apostles, or their immediate disciples, before the end of the apostolic age. But Pothinus, the first bishop of Lyons in the end of the second century, is the earliest name on record as a preacher of the gospel in that country.

Even in the fourth century, the number of those who adhered to the ancient superstition was still very great. But the doctrines and worship which persecutions and martyrdoms had propagated, through the eloquence and sanctity of Pothinus, of Irenæus, of Martin of Tours, of Remigius of Rheims, and others, the conversion of Constantine encouraged and finally established. The statues and temples of the gods were overthrown; and in their room, Christian churches and parishes were erected.

Sudden and general conversions, however, have been found rather nominal than real. The people both in Gaul and Germany had, for centuries past, been accustomed to religious changes; and, without due instruction and knowledge, too readily transferred their worship from one deity, and their reverence

reverence and submission from one priest, to another. Such conversions were rather prejudicial than profitable to the Christian church; for the new converts retained their prejudices and habits, and with new names, in fact, their former attachments. Hence the constant increase of superstition in the Christian church, in proportion to the rapidity with which nations were converted.

and soon
corrupted.

There was not only too great a facility in the temper of the clergy, to receive numbers uninstructed, but to accommodate too far to their prejudices and customs. They mingled with them in their games, their shews, and unhallowed festivities; and they sacrificed the purity of the gospel, and the simplicity of its institutions and worship, to vanity, avarice, and ambition.

So early as A. D. 314, the council of Arles among other articles ordained, that the clergy should remain attached to the church in which they were ordained, should abstain from acting personally in the theatre, and in public games and shews; from appearing in a race as charioteers, and from carrying arms as soldiers. If the Christian clergy were already in this state, the people cannot be expected to have been more correct.

Causes of its
corruption.

The sudden conversion of Clovis and his Franks, it is likely, produced little change on their moral principles and general conduct. From whatever part of Germany they came, they probably brought with them a mixture of German and Roman polytheism; and settled among a people who mingled somewhat of the superstition of the Druids, and of the Romans, with the Christian religion. Many of the clergy taught, and many too of the people believed, the gospel, and observed its doctrines, institutions, and laws, in their native purity and simplicity; but from the facts recorded,
and

and from the repeated decrees of councils, there can be no doubt that the great body of the people in the end of the fifth century were ignorant, and addicted to various superstitions.

Hitherto the heresies and controversies agitated in Italy, in Africa, and in Asia, had not materially affected the Christian church in France; but in the fourth and fifth centuries the state of Europe became peculiarly critical, and gave the Arian controversy an influence beyond its own importance.

The doctrines of Sabellius, and of Origen, respecting the Trinity and Godhead, had for some time turned the attention of men to this subject ; a subject which never can be clearly understood. Any attempt to explain it, beyond the simple language of divine revelation, must be liable to error on one side or another. Sabellius had maintained that Jesus Christ is not a distinct person, but received only a certain energy or portion of the divine nature from the Father. Origen held that the Son is in God, what reason is in man. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in an assembly of his presbyters, asserting with confidence in opposition to such opinions, that the Son is of the same rank and essence with the Father, provoked Arius, one of these presbyters, to declare and maintain the opposite opinion ; that the Son is essentially distinct from, and inferior to the Father, and is the first and highest of the creatures of God, to whom, for a merciful end, he hath committed a superior power in heaven and in earth. His opinions spreading rapidly over Egypt, it was thought necessary to accuse him of impiety, and to expel him from the Christian church. Persecution, as usual, excited attention and sympathy, contributed to propagate his opinions, and to give the subject importance. It interested even the emperor to that degree, that

he thought it necessary to assemble the council of Nice, to decide and terminate the controversy. Arius and his opinions were condemned by that council A. D. 325, and Jesus Christ was declared by them to be consubstantial, or of the same essence with the Father. The doctrine, however, got hold of the minds of men, and the disciples of Arius increased. The emperor was persuaded by some of them, that the condemnation of Arius was unjust and malicious, and he was prevailed on to recal him from banishment, and to repeal the laws which had been enacted against him. Athanasius, now bishop of Alexandria, refusing to receive and reinstate Arius in his office, was deposed and banished into Gaul; while Arius triumphed in the restoration to his office and privileges. Arius soon after died, but his principles survived. By the favour of Constantius they spread, and prevailed in the east; but by Constans and Constantine, among whom the empire was now divided, they were discouraged in the west. The minds of men became extremely heated with the controversy; councils and decrees were multiplied against one another. Successive emperors entertained different opinions, and according as they favoured or disapproved, the influence of the two parties alternately preponderated; till Gratian, A. D. 378, and especially his successor Theodosius, enacted and executed laws against the Arians with a severity which drove them for refuge among the invaders of the Roman empire, and particularly in Gaul among the Goths and Burgundians. Thus Arianism prevailed in these countries, while the Nicene doctrines were protected and promoted in that part of Gaul still held by the Romans, from whom it was afterwards conquered by Clovis.

Takes refuge
among the
Goths, &c.

When the Goths invaded and settled in the south and west of France, and the Burgundians in the south-east of it, they do not seem to have materially altered the state of the church. The clergy and their flocks remained much as they had done before under the Roman empire; the people were generally Christians, and many were but half converts, or still continued Pagans. When the Arians took refuge among them, they were tolerated in the same way as the other Christian churches already settled in those parts, in whose religious questions and disputes the barbarian princes took no share. The Nicene Christians were therefore most likely to prevail, as they were as numerous in Burgundy and Aquitaine as the refugee Arians; though the latter were more zealous, and as enemies of the Romans, had obtained an immediate and general influence at court, and over the country.

For this very reason, the Nicene clergy and people became envious of their superiority; they cast their eyes on Clovis after his conversion, as a prince entirely of their opinions; encouraged his attempts to invade their country, and contributed finally to the conquest of it. The conquest of the kingdom of the Visigoths by Clovis, and of Burgundy by his successors, gave a fatal blow to Arianism in France; it lost all its influence at court, and was not even tolerated over the country. Is extinguished in France.

The Nestorian and Eutychian opinions might be said to spring out of the Arian controversy. In the whole kingdom of France, however, there was neither a professed Nestorian, nor Eutychian²⁰. The clergy only felt a general sympathy with the eastern church therein, and were involved in the consequences respecting the three chapters. Nestorian and Eutychian controversies.

²⁰ P. Daniel, tom. i. p. 109.

In opposing the Arian doctrine, it was to be expected that some men would run into the other extreme. Apollinaris, in zealously supporting the divine nature of Christ, taught that it supplied the place of the human soul. The Alexandrians, and for some time the Egyptians, generally adopted this notion. Nestorius, a Syrian, encouraged by his countrymen, resisted this confusion of the two natures, the human with the divine, in Jesus Christ; and in his zeal he ran the distinction too far, and seemed to contend for not merely two natures, but two persons, in Jesus. Such contests, it was hoped in vain, might be terminated by the decision, sometimes of provincial, or certainly of general councils. The second general council at Constantinople, A. D. 381, had succeeded, indeed, in putting an end to the doctrine of Macedonius, who had taught that the Holy Ghost was a divine energy diffused throughout the universe, and had settled the Catholic faith as it is now received on that subject; but both in the general council of Nice, which condemned Arius, and in subsequent councils, discussion and decision by a small majority were found calculated to inflame the minds of men, and to spread, rather than suppress, the disputes in question. This was the case with respect to the opinions of Nestorius: he was condemned by the third general council at Ephesus, A. D. 431, and was banished; but his opinions continued to agitate the church.

Eutyches, in fleeing from one error, ran into another. In opposing the doctrine of Nestorius with antipathy and violence, he maintained a doctrine in the other extreme, no less dangerous to peace and truth. He taught that in Jesus Christ there is but one nature, that of the incarnate Word; excluding, as was supposed, the human nature.

This

This opinion spread extensively and with rapidity over the east, and was the subject of violent discussion in several synods and councils. The general council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, at last condemned Eutyches, and declared, "That in Jesus Christ two distinct natures are united in one person."

Nestorius had been a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuesta, and was supposed to have imbibed his opinions. Ibas, bishop of Edeffa, wrote an epistle in favour of Nestorius, against his violent enemy, Cyril bishop of Alexandria; Theodoret bishop of Cyprus had also written against Cyril, and reprobated his conduct towards Nestorius. The writings of these three authors in favour of Nestorius, formed the subject of what was called the three chapters, which so extensively occupied and so long divided the Christian church.

The Eutychian party persuaded Justinian to publish an edict, A. D. 544, against the friends of Nestorius and the three chapters; without prejudice, however, according to the terms of the edict, to the authority of the council of Chalcedon.

The pope Vigilius; and many of the western clergy, reprobated this edict, as prejudicial to the authority of councils, and as favouring the heresy of Nestorius. But on visiting the Imperial court at Constantinople, Vigilius recanted, and concurred with the emperor, and a council of seventy bishops convened by Imperial authority, in condemning the three chapters. This courtly weakness of the pope highly offended the African, and most of the western bishops. Many of them withdrew from communion with him, till he returned to his former principles. After much controversy and various commotions, the fifth general council met at Constantinople, A. D. 553, and by it the three chapters

were condemned. The pope, finding that his late conduct had given general offence, refused to concur with this council, or subscribe its decrees; and on this account he was banished by the emperor. Again he repented, submitted, and concurred, and so gratified the emperor and his clergy; but as his concurrence in condemning the three chapters, implied a censure on the council of Chalcedon and the Catholic faith, it excited a general indignation among the clergy even of France, who had not hitherto entered much into doctrinal controversy. They respected the authority of general councils. They considered the emperor's edict, the sentence of the council of Constantinople, and the pope's final concurrence, as subversive of freedom and orthodoxy; and were now jealous of the emperor's influence in ecclesiastical matters. In the fifth council of Orleans, A. D. 549, they had condemned the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, rather from sympathy with other churches, than from any fear of their prevalence in France, and expressed an earnest desire of uniformity over all the Christian church. They also persuaded Childebert to send Rufinus his ambassador to the court of Justinian, to enquire particularly into the conduct of the emperor, and especially into the conduct of the pope in this affair²².

Vigilius died; but Pelagius, who succeeded him, approved of what his predecessor had done, and was not less subject to Imperial influence. The mere change of person relieved not the anxiety of Childebert and his clergy, and therefore Rufinus received fresh instructions to represent faithfully the sentiments of the court and church of France, to demand an explicit account of the pope's

²² Norris de Synodo quinta Oecumenica. Fleury Hist. Ecc.
conduct,

conduct, considered as the ostensible head of the church, in the late controversy, and to report particularly whether he had not abandoned the orthodox and catholic faith²².

This produced from Pelagius a letter to Chiladebert, dated 11th December A. D. 556, in substance as follows: "That the church had not of late
 " any reason for anxiety about the purity of the
 " faith: that the emperor and he were determined
 " to employ the most effectual means for exterminating heresy: that aware of this, the different
 " heretical sects had combined to disquiet her: that
 " some designing people at Constantinople, chiefly
 " Nestorians, boasted, that their faith was the
 " same with that of the council of Chalcedon, and
 " of pope Leo, endeavouring to stain the memory
 " of that saint, and to throw a general disrespect
 " on the papal character and authority: that it was
 " unnecessary for him to enter more minutely into
 " the subject, this being enough to enable him
 " (the king) to contradict any rumour in France
 " to his prejudice, as head of the church: that he
 " was sensible he was surrounded with ignorant
 " and simple men, even bishops, who did not understand the importance of adhering most scrupulously to every iota of the Christian faith, and
 " of refuting strenuously the calumnies of heretics;
 " with men who could not discern the error of
 " Nestorius, but believed him orthodox in teaching that there are two natures without union in
 " Christ: finally, that since the death of the empress Theodora, there was no room for suspecting error in the church, and that the present
 " emperor was determined to co-operate with him
 " in supporting the authority of the council of

²² P. Dan. Anastas. Biblioth. Baronius ad ann. 556.

" Chalcedon, and generally in maintaining the holy
" faith."

This letter, however, was unsatisfactory and evasive; a particular confession of his faith was positively required, and Pelagius at last judged it necessary to comply. He sent a confession of his faith, explicitly opposed to Arianism, Sabellianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, and other heresies of those times. This proved satisfactory, and prevented the clergy of France from joining the schism against the pope in Africa, and over a great part of Italy ²³.

The Pelagian controversy.

The Pelagian controversy arose in the beginning of the fifth century, and had spent its force before the settlement of the Franks in Gaul; but its consequences were such in that country, as to secure it a place in ecclesiastical history.

Pelagius, said to be a native of Britain, lived at Rome in great reputation as a monk of eminent piety and virtue. He insisted, that the doctrines of original depravity, and of the necessity of divine grace to overcome that depravity, are unfounded in scripture, and prejudicial to holiness: that we derive neither guilt nor corruption from our first parents, who bare their own sins only: that we are born as pure and upright as they originally were: that we are naturally capable of repentance, and that the internal operations of the Holy Ghost are altogether unnecessary.

He taught privately at first in Rome, but on the arrival of the Goths he travelled into Africa, and afterwards to Palestine, propagating his opinions.

The writings of two French bishops, Saint Hero of Arles, and Lazare of Aix, contributed not a

²³ Fleury, tom. vii. Pere Dan. tom. i.

little to the condemnation of the doctrines of Pelagius in the councils of Carthage, A. D. 412 and 416, and again the year following at Constantinople²⁴.

The writings and zeal of Augustine also opposed a successful antidote to them, and to the protection and encouragement which the pope Zosimus afforded them. They were counteracted with so much vigilance and zeal indeed every where, that they do not seem to have ever gained much strength, and were at last totally neglected.

But the language employed, particularly by Augustine, in opposing those doctrines, led some monks to teach, that men are so far from being originally pure and free, and recoverable by their own virtue, that they are eternally predestinated to act as they do, or, that all their conduct and final doom is originally and irreversibly fixed by Heaven.

Predestinarians.

Augustine zealously vindicated himself and his writings from these opposite opinions²⁵; and the French clergy humbly borrowed from him the arguments with which they combated both the Pelagians and Predestinarians. The doctrines of the Predestinarians were condemned by the councils of Arles and Lyons²⁶.

From the two extremes of Pelagianism and Predestinarianism, arose about A. D. 430 the system of Semipelagianism. It aimed at a medium betwixt them; it denied the necessity of divine grace to begin, but admitted that it is necessary to carry on, and to perfect regeneration and holiness.

Semipelagians.

²⁴ Hist. Lit. de la France.

²⁵ Ibid. tom. ii. p. 11. et 16. August. Ep. 225. No. 1, 2. 6. 9, 10.

²⁶ Mosheim, cent. 5. part 2. ch. 5. § 25.

The monk Cassian having imbibed these opinions in the east, introduced them into France in the beginning of the fifth century; and the fame of his learning, and the sanctity of his life, rendered him successful in propagating them. From Marseilles, where he resided in a monastery of his own erection, they spread over all the neighbouring towns. They were supported and encouraged by Faustus, a native of Great Britain, who came over to France about this time; and were peculiarly acceptable to men who were, or considered themselves to be, superior in either rank or talents to the vulgar²⁷.

The disciples of Augustine in France, Prosper and Hilary in particular, zealously combated these opinions. All their piety, however, all their knowledge and eloquence, and all the poetic inspiration of Prosper, were insufficient to arrest their progress. The second council of Orange, A. D. 529, decided in favour of the doctrine of Prosper and Augustine; and Cæsar bishop of Arles, who presided in that council, by his writings, his interest with the pope, and his general influence over the country, contributed to check, and finally to suppress, this system in France²⁸.

The controversy about image worship.

Of all the controversies, however, which agitated not only the church but the state, the most violent was that concerning the worship of images. The portraits of great and good men, and paintings of scripture history, were first respected and placed in churches, from a high regard to the worth of the persons, and attachment to the interesting nature of the subjects which they represented; but that respect grew, with the progress of superstition,

²⁷ Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. ii.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 10—23.

into a slight reverence; and at last into the most profound adoration.

The heathens, who were accustomed to idolatry, on their conversion entered readily into the practice of image worship. It seemed no violent change to transfer their veneration from the statue of Venus or of Diana, to the portrait of the Virgin Mary; from Mars to Saint Martin; from Jupiter to Saint Paul; or from Apollo to the holy Saint Remi of Rheims. Weak, devout minds, inattentive to the crime or the consequences of saint or image worship, insisted that by means of them their hearts were encouraged to draw near to God, that their thoughts were more fixed, and their affections more fervent.

On the other hand, the Jews and Jewish converts, and Mahometans, considering image worship in the slightest degree as absolutely prohibited by their law, regarded both the doctrine and practice with abhorrence. Every spiritually minded person, every man duly informed in the gospel, and capable of discerning aright the nature, institution, and end of Christian worship, or of pursuing all the probable consequences of worshipping saints and images, was satisfied that it was pernicious to the mind, and dangerous to true religion. It naturally became the subject of frequent private altercation, and at last burst forth into violent public controversy²⁹.

A picture, representing the sixth general council, which condemned the Monothelites, was placed in the church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople. The emperor Philippicus, who favoured that sect,

²⁹ It had been very early the custom to place the pictures of the deceased bishops in their churches over the altar. "Cet usage est remarquable de peindre les Evêques dans les Eglises." Tom. vii. A. D. 488. Hist. Ecclesiast. par M. Fleury.

ordered it on that account to be pulled down ; but assigned as his ostensible reason, that paintings ought not to be placed, or venerated, in churches. His zeal kindled by one, became inflamed against all, and the conflagration spread from Constantinople to Rome. His attempts, however, were short and ineffectual. His third successor, Leo the Isaurian, was more violent and persevering. He issued a general edict against images, A. D. 726, which gave rise to a civil war over all Greece and Italy, betwixt the Iconoduli, or image worshippers, and the Iconoclasts, or image breakers. The former were headed by the popes, and the latter by the emperors.

Constantine Copronymus, knowing the respect both of the clergy and laity for general councils, convened one at Constantinople, A. D. 754, and submitted the subject to their consideration. The council concurred with him in condemning image worship. Their decision, however, was little regarded by the Iconoduli of the west, and a total separation was threatened of the western from the eastern empire.

The empress Irene, A. D. 786, with the concurrence of the pope Adrian, summoned the second council of Nice, hoping thereby to heal the church, and to preserve the empire. It reversed the sentence of the council of Constantinople, and restored, or rather confirmed, this species of idolatry. Charlemagne and the French clergy were more moderate than either the Iconoclasts of the east on the one hand, or the Iconoduli of Italy on the other. They revised and modified the decrees of the council of Nice. Four books (*Libri Carolini*,) said to have been written by Charlemagne, and of which he declared himself the author, were published at the same time, against the canons of
that

that council, on this subject. They execrate the council; they pour abuse on both Irene and Constantine; they exhibit throughout a vain shew of erudition; they affect to turn into ridicule the arguments in favour of images; and they deny the title of œcumenical to the second council of Nice, because, they say, it was a representation of a part only, and not of the whole church³⁰.

Charlemagne was disposed to resent the conduct of Irene, who had amused him with the offer of herself in marriage, and with negotiations on that subject. His ambition aimed at the Imperial title and grandeur, which were now in another direction; and it became his interest to gain and secure the party which could most effectually promote his views, and oppose and frustrate her policy in Italy. He gratified the French clergy in declaring against the adoration of images, and at the same time in admitting the moderate use of them. He studied to bring over the pope to this opinion. He assembled the council of Frankfort, A. D. 794, consisting of three hundred bishops; the pope's legates attended. They approved of the doctrine of the Caroline books, and unanimously and solemnly condemned the worship of images. The pope could not heartily receive this sentence, for it was different from his own opinion; neither could he refuse it, because it was legally his own deed, being agreed to by his legates. His apprehensions from Constantinople, his respect for Charlemagne, and the protection which he expected from him, made him temporise on the subject. He wrote to Charlemagne, in answer to the copy

³⁰ Their style is not like that of Charlemagne. It is scarcely possible that he could find time to compose them. They are either written by Alcuin, or are the joint composition of several of the clergy,

of the Caroline books sent him by that monarch; and one cannot sufficiently admire the mildness of his answer, says M. Fleury, whether it proceeded from the real state of his mind, or from the fear of offending Charles, whose protection he required.²¹

These were the principal controversies which agitated the church in France during the period of history of which we now write; and on the whole, the impression which the review of them leaves on the mind, respecting the character of the Gallican church in those times, is that of moderation.

SECT. III.

History of Ecclesiastical Men, Institutions, Government, Discipline, Ceremonies, and Revenue, from the Introduction of Christianity into France, till the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

Ecclesiastical ranks, government, &c.

THE end of government is to promote and maintain order; the end of discipline is to prevent or correct vice, and to secure purity and virtue.

Regular and strict government becomes necessary, in proportion as the number of its subjects increases. The authority of Jesus was sufficient to direct his disciples while he remained on earth; and when he ascended into heaven, he left with them the general principles of church policy, on

²¹ *Histoire Eccles.* par M. Fleury, tom. ix. Mabillon in pref. ad *Secul. quartum*. Basnage *Hist. d'Eglise*. The Protestants in latter times appeal to the arguments and decision of the councils of Constantinople and Frankfort. The Roman Catholics resort rather to the council of Nice, on the subject of image worship.

which

which his apostles and their successors reared, as circumstances moved or required them, the various forms of ecclesiastical government which we find recorded in history.

The first teachers of Christianity spake and acted generally, on ordinary occasions, as other men do, on the principles of reason and prudence; on important or extraordinary occasions, they spake and acted as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Sometimes they consulted synodically, as at Jerusalem; sometimes they were guided by the lot; and at other times, as in the ordinary and reasonable conduct of human affairs, the younger submitted to the counsel and authority of the elder; the inferior in number, rank, gifts, or experience, to the prudent advice, intreaty, or command of their superiors.

Sometimes a single family, surrounded by heathens and persecutors, formed a church. When a number of families in the same neighbourhood became Christians, they naturally associated, constituting a paroch (*παροικία*), and obtained and supported a common instructor or minister, who was variously denominated pastor, bishop, or elder¹. In the progress of time, a bishop was appointed to the oversight of several parishes. The bishop of a metropolis acquired, from his residence, hospitality, and other circumstances attending his situation in a large city, an influence and rank above his brethren, otherwise his equals, in the country.

The Jewish converts naturally desired an imitation of their ancient hierarchy; the heathens also wished to copy the species of government familiar

¹ Epistles of the New Testament; Acts of the Apostles, Bingham's Antiq. Owen, Hooker.

to them; and different countries attached to the general principles of the policy of the Christian church some of their peculiar customs.

This uniformity on the whole, and variety in particular features, appeared more remarkable after Christianity under Constantine had triumphed over all opposition, and claimed a constitution and government established by law. Patriarchs, metropolitans, and archbishops, were ordained, corresponding to the *prefecti*, *pretorii*, and *vicarii*, or *præsides provinciarum* of the Roman empire. Under these, were bishops and their vicars, presbyters, archdeacons, deacons, and some inferior officers².

Patriarch.

The name patriarch was borrowed from the Jews, who dignified with this title those whom, after the destruction of Jerusalem, they acknowledged as their princes, descended of the family of David³. Priscus, bishop of Lyons, is called patriarch in the second council of Maçon, which title at that time, says M. Fleury, was given to the chief metropolitans. Now Lyons, he adds, was the metropolis of the kingdom of Gontran, and often the place of his residence and the seat of his government⁴.

Metropolitan.

Under the patriarch of Lyons were the metropolitan bishops, who resided in the chief cities of the provinces of that kingdom, as Pretextatus of Rouen and Sulpicius of Bourges.

Archbishop.

Archbishop began to be the name of the metropolitans in the fourth century. Saint Remi is

² Dubos Hist. de la Monarchie Franc. tom. i. Mosheim, cent. 4.

³ Mezerai, tom. i. p. 234.

⁴ Patriarch was appropriated more early to the bishops of Rome, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Jerusalem.

the first who applies it to the metropolitans of Gaul.

The bishop was the chief priest of his diocese: Bishop. his office was to superintend the several priests and parishes of which it consisted, to preach when he chose, to ordain such as applied to him, and whom he judged qualified.

Prefbyters, or priests, were attached to particular Prefbyter. parishes.

Deacons were accustomed, by licence and au- Deacon. thority from the bishop, to preach, to reconcile penitents, to grant absolution, and, in general, to assist and represent the bishop as he directed.

The archdeacon preceded the deacons by age, Archdeacon. and had no other superiority till after the conversion of Clovis; then, instead of being appointed by the bishop, he came to be elected, and had peculiar privileges attached to his rank.

The subdeacon assisted the deacon, but was not Subdeacon. allowed to enter within the rail of the altar.

The acolyte attended and assisted the subdeacon. Acolyte. There were also readers, and other inferior officers. Reader.

Candidates for ordination were required to be free from servitude, to be unmaimed, or of a perfect and sound body, to have no concubine, and, if married, to be the husband of one wife. Ordination.

The bishop, with consent of his clergy, might grant orders to his inferiors, as presbyters and deacons; but a bishop himself could not be ordained without the knowledge and consent of his metropolitan, and of the clergy and people over whom he was to preside.

A deacon was required to be twenty-five years of age in order to ordination, and a presbyter to be thirty years; after which he might be advanced; as he was found qualified, to the rank and office of a bishop.

Form of it.

A reader was admitted to his rank by receiving the book of his office. A subdeacon, and deacon, by receiving the vessels and instruments of their service. In admitting the deacon, the bishop farther laid his hand on his head, and blessed him; but in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters present joined the bishop in the imposition of hands.

The metropolitan was bound to ordain bishops in the course of three months, after due application to that effect. But he was required first to examine them, and to be satisfied that they were prudent, apt to teach, temperate, chaste, sober-minded, liberal, merciful, acquainted with the scriptures, and cautious in interpreting them; above all, that they were found in the faith.

On being satisfied in all these points, with the advice and consent of the whole clergy and people of the province, the candidate was to be ordained by the authority, or in the presence, of the metropolitan. Two bishops laid and held on his head the book of the gospels; and while one consecrated and ordained him by prayer, all the other bishops present held their hands on his head^s.

Superior
rank of a
bishop.

The sanctity of the bishop, joined to his temporal lordship, gave him a superiority of rank over the highest order of the laity. His rank and estimation appear from the Salic law, which exacted a fine of 900 sols d'or for his murder, 600 for a priest, and 600 for a baron.

In the preamble to the Salic law published by Clotaire, and in the most ancient records of the general assemblies, the bishops are always named before dukes, and other estates of the kingdom.

^s D'Achery, Collect. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 18. 21, 22. 27. 102. 125.

The first offices of the state were repeatedly held by them; and some of them, though the practice was generally disapproved and often condemned by councils, emulated the dukes and barons in arming and heading their own vassals to the field⁶.

Ecclesiastical councils were diocesan, provincial, and œcumenical.

The bishop by his own authority assembled the clergy of his diocese, and presided in their council. They devised and enacted regulations for particular churches, and generally for religion, religious men, and religious affairs, within their own bounds. The bishop was invested with authority to admonish and superintend the clergy subject to him; but in matters of judgment, of censure, or of discipline, his sentence was void without their counsel and concurrence. "If we do not preserve the jurisdiction of each bishop," says Saint Gregory, "we overturn the order of the church, which we should maintain."⁷

Diocesan
council.

The metropolitan, or archbishop, convened the clergy of his province, and presided in their assemblies. "The metropolitan," says Hincmar, in his articles presented to his nephew the bishop of Laon⁸, "may cause the canons and constitutions of the church to be put in execution in all the province, without assembling any synod, or consulting the bishops; and if he find any thing opposite to them, he may reform it immediately, because in so doing he is the author of no new laws, but the executor only of the old." In general, however, references and appeals were made from bishops, and concerning them, to provincial

Metropoli-
tan council.

⁶ Fleury, Hist. Eccl. tom. viii. p. 674.

⁷ Dupin's Eccles. Hist. 6th century.

⁸ Id. 9th century.

A. D. 341.

Œcumenical or General Council.

synods⁹. Saint Gregory acknowledges the necessity of provincial councils for maintaining discipline and judging bishops. A predecessor of his in the papal chair was of opinion, and indeed the council of Antioch ordains, that they ought to be assembled twice every year¹⁰. In France, the approbation of the king was necessary to give force to the canons of provincial and national councils¹¹.

An œcumenical or general council was summoned by the emperor, with the advice and concurrence of the patriarchs, the pope, or chief clergy of the church. Roman catholic writers have reckoned eighteen, but protestants seven or eight only, of these general councils; viz. the council of Nice, under Constantine; of Constantinople, under Theodosius the great; of Ephesus, under Theodosius the younger; of Chalcedon, under Martianus; of Constantinople, under Justinian; of Constantinople, under Constantius Pogonatus; of Nice, under Irene; and of Constantinople, under Lewis II.¹²

These councils, though they are called general, were attended by those bishops chiefly in the vicinity of the place where they were held; and however independent they might seem in their decisions, we find them generally characterized by the opinion of the prince who convened them, or under whose auspices they were held.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that such matters only were discussed in general councils, as concerned the whole church, or that seemed to require

⁹ Canon 9th of the Council of Chalcedon, century 5th.

¹⁰ Pope Hormisdas; Dupin, 6th century.

¹¹ Fleury, tom. vii. lib. xxxi. c. 8. Velly Hist. tom. i. p. 61.

¹² Bullinger de Conciliis reckons only six; Prideaux, seven; and Bp. Beveridge, eight.

the impartiality and authority which might be expected from so general an assembly of the clergy.

The first teachers of Christianity were maintained by their own industry, and by the voluntary contributions of the people. They had begun to receive important donations and legacies before the reign of Constantine. The 28th canon of the council of Eliberis, or Elvira, A. D. 305, forbids bishops to receive presents from those who are not in the communion of the church. The council of Antioch, A. D. 341, in the two last canons, provides for the preservation of the church lands. It confers the management of them on the bishops; but also ordains, that the priests shall take care, on their decease, that the heirs of bishops do not claim them as their patrimonial inheritance. It regulates also the application of the revenue of the church; that it shall be expended on the poor, and in the exercise of hospitality to strangers. That the bishop shall be content with necessaries, and shall not retain the surplus as his own, nor for his family; but shall distribute it with the consent and advice of his priests and deacons; and that any complaint on this head shall be referred, or appealed, to the provincial synod.

The clergy early introduced the doctrine, that the remission of sins might be obtained by liberal donations to the church. It was an acceptable doctrine to the opulent, who were unwilling to forsake their sins, and who were able to purchase the pardon of them either by an immediate gift or by an ample legacy.

In imitation of the Jewish church, they also claimed the tithes. The council of Maçon, A. D. 585, ordains, that tithes shall be paid to the ministers of the church, agreeably to the law of God, and

and the immemorial custom of Christians, under pain of excommunication.

Offerings at
the altar.

A considerable part of the maintenance of the clergy arose from the offerings made by the people at the altar: the 14th canon of the council of Orleans, A. D. 511, renews the ancient canons on this subject, and ordains, that one moiety of these offerings shall belong to the bishop, and the other to the clergy.

Princely be-
nefices.

In process of time, princes being accustomed to secure friends among laymen by grants of lands, in like manner conferred wealth and territory on the church for the same purpose. The fifth canon of the council of Orleans assembled before the death of Clovis declares, that the revenues of lands given to churches by the prince, shall be employed for repairs of churches, for entertainment of the clergy, for the maintenance of the poor, and for the redemption of captives. And the 15th canon commits to the disposal of the bishop, all that the faithful shall offer to parishes, in lands, vineyards, slaves, and other things, and that a third shall be his own. From these various sources, immense riches flowed in process of time into the church. The territories of Rome and Ravenna conferred by Pepin, and confirmed by Charlemagne, on the pope, as the humble vassal of the French empire, gave him a temporal power which tempted him at last to aim at universal dominion.

The aggran-
dishment of
the clergy.

The priests who convert a nation, said the Abbe de Mably, may be its masters, if they please. The conversion of the Franks contributed much to the aggrandisement of the French clergy. Those rude invaders transferred the veneration of their Pagan priests, to the ministers of the Christian church. They yielded to them the direction of their con-
science;

science; and the progress is easy, from the direction of ignorant men's consciences, to the general management of their affairs. The bishops, accustomed to authority and jurisdiction over their clergy, claimed it also, in imitation of temporal lords, over the holders of church lands. They gradually increased their power to an extreme degree, by extending their jurisdiction to all cases which had the least shadow of a relation to clerical authority or law. They claimed the protection and disposal of widows, of minors, of the poor, and of their respective property. All crimes which could possibly be interpreted into offences against the church, they subjected to their ecclesiastical discipline. They gradually seized almost the entire administration of civil and criminal law¹³, and at length asserted their superiority to the king¹⁴.

Far above the church, like a tower threatening the heavens, arose the Roman pontiff. His elevation was gradual, and owing not to an early design or regular plan, but to ordinary occurrences and events, concurring with the superstition of the times, and with the usual operation of human ambition.

Rise and progress of the papal power.

If the bishop of a provincial city claimed and obtained a pre-eminence over the rest within the province; if the bishop of such a city as Antioch, Jerusalem, or even Constantinople, was honoured

1st cause, Residence in Rome.

¹³ Canons 3. 18. 20. of the council of Verneville, A. D.

755.

¹⁴ "Tanta est dignitas Pontificum," says Hincmar, in one of his Epistles, "major quam regum, quia reges in culmen regum sacrantur a pontificibus."

Martin bishop of Tours had at a more early period publicly maintained the superiority of a presbyter to the emperor. Sulpit. Sever. de vita Martini, c. 20. dial. ii. c. 26.

with the respect and name of patriarch; the bishop of the ancient city of Rome, so long the mistress and then still the greatest city of the world, seemed entitled to a superior title and veneration.

Rome was also the centre of wealth and of intercourse, the seat of government, and the source of authority. Thither ambitious men were accustomed to look for preferment. From it the humble and the poor supplicated the provision which their wants required: thence advice and counsel were solicited by men, who, in the most distant parts of the country, enjoyed fewer opportunities of information and experience; and thus the mandates of Rome were wont to be universally respected and implicitly obeyed.

2d, References and appeals.

As presbyters appealed in their differences to their own bishop; as bishops referred their contests to their metropolitan; so all over Italy and the western empire, all controversies and subjects of contention were referred to the bishop of Rome. The council of Sardica, A. D. 347, conferred the power of judging appeals, on the pope; and Valentinian II. A. D. 372, enacted a law, empowering the Roman pontiff to examine and judge other bishops, that religious disputes might not be decided by profane judges¹⁵.

3d, Translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople.

The very translation of the seat of civil government from Rome to Constantinople, contributed to the aggrandisement of the pope. Deserted by her emperors, she felt a vacancy of object on which she might confer her long accustomed rank and dignity. Various circumstances made her prefer to this honour her bishop, rather than the exarch,

¹⁵ Mosheim, vol. i. century 4th, part ii, c. 2. note (s). Dupin, vol. ii. Lectures on Church History, by Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen, end of the first, and beginning of the second volume.

whose

whose deputed authority she was disposed to neglect, and occasionally to despise. And to encourage and secure this high respect, the bishop of that venerable city, having ample funds, assumed more outward pomp and grandeur, enlarged his hospitality, and studied to increase the number of his retinue and dependents.

The bishops of Rome and Constantinople long contended for pre-eminence. The latter, with the consent and authority of the emperors, had assumed the title of œcumenical or universal bishop. The former denied the justice of that title to the bishop of Constantinople, and claimed it for that of Rome. Every argument was exhausted, and every farther expedient to obtain it seemed vain, when Phocas, by violence and cruelty, ascended the Imperial throne. Cyriacus, then bishop of Constantinople, disapproved his measures, and endeavoured to check his inhumanity. The haughty tyrant resented this opposition, by stripping him of the gaudy title of œcumenical, and by conferring it on his rival Boniface, the bishop of Rome. Nothing could more gratify the latter; it was the height of episcopal ambition, and the titular completion of papal supremacy¹⁶.

4th, Œcumenical title conferred by Phocas.

The barbarians too, who overran the empire, observed the influence of the bishop of Rome, and increased that influence by courting his favour. They thought they were establishing their own sovereignty, when they flattered him, and aggrandised his power. The empire itself, the Ostrogoths, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively, and sometimes alternately, occupied Italy; amidst all their concussions and changes, the pope stood

5th, Influence with the successive conquerors of Italy.

¹⁶ Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Church History, vol. ii., part 2. c. 2. Hist. Eccles. par M. Fleury, tom. viii. liv. 36. § 52.

firm in Rome: each of them in his turn had recourse to him, and felt his weight of no small importance occasionally in the political scale; and though he sometimes suffered the vengeance of an incensed adversary, yet he soon recovered, and on the whole increased his influence and authority. In the controversy, particularly, about the worship of images, he appeared the champion of religion against the apostate emperor. All Italy determined to support him; the French monarch respected him; and at his request assured him of protection.

6th. The
accession of
the Carlo-
vingian race
in France.

Finally, the change in the dynasty of France, not only served to confirm, but to extend, and greatly augment the papal power. Pepin thought the pope's advice and authority necessary in exalting himself and his family to the throne, over the princes of the Merovingian race; secure in this point, his next ambition was to expel the Greeks out of Italy. Having done this, he conferred their principal territories of Rome and Ravenna on the pope, not merely to reward him for former favours, but to secure his attachment and allegiance as a vassal of France. The gift was confirmed and augmented by Charlemagne, whom the pope requited with the title of emperor. And thus the bishop of Rome rose gradually to the rank of a temporal prince, and to an extent of influence which threatened Europe finally with subjection to his dominion¹⁷.

History of
Monachism.

In the mean time, retirement, so favourable to religion when duly moderated, was carried to an

¹⁷ Hist. du Droit Ecclesiast. publ. François. This author illustrates successfully, and concisely, the rise and progress of the papal authority and power. Dr. Campbell is tedious, and fond of discussion.

extreme,

extreme, and gave rise to new religious orders. It had long been the opinion of Egyptian and Jewish fanatics, that silence and solitude, abstinence and mortification, are necessary to the health of the soul, and divine contemplation; and that they are the only sacrifices acceptable to Deity²⁸. Through Plato and Philo, Ammonius and Origen, this infection descended into and pervaded the Christian church. Some retired into deserts and submitted to extreme hardships, in the belief that their sufferings were essential to salvation. Some ascended pillars, on the top of which, consisting of a few feet square only of surface, they spent their lives. Others did not withdraw from the abodes of men, but assumed a mode of living unfavourable to social intercourse, to active and useful pursuits, and to real religion. By denying themselves the comforts, and sometimes the very necessities of life, by retirement, by fasting, and by the general appearance of great devotion, they procured the highest name of sanctity.

In the 4th century, they began, under St. Anthony in Egypt, to frame rules, and to form themselves into separate associations, or fraternities. The deserts were replenished with them; they multiplied and spread over Palestine and Arabia; they extended into Greece and Asia, into Africa and Europe.

High respect for their supposed piety and severe manner of life, excited general sympathy; their prayers and intercessions were every where requested, and accounted uniformly effectual, even to the working of miracles: it is no wonder, there-

²⁸ It is probable, as Mezerai thinks, that persecutions, like that of Decius, drove some Christians into deserts, accustomed them to solitude, and so contributed to promote retirement and monachism.

fore, that they were purchased by various modes of benefaction, by donations, and by legacies. These encouraged and enabled them to build houses for their residence. In the progress of time they reared large monasteries, and became the proprietors of extensive territories.

St. Martin, bishop of Tours, introduced monastic institutions into France, and about A. D. 360 built a monastery near Poitiers. His monks were, many of them, of noble families, and submitted to the greatest austerities both in food and raiment. Two thousand of them, such was the rapidity of their increase, attended his funeral¹⁹. In other countries they appear to have increased in a similar proportion, and with such zeal, that it became necessary to restrain the regular clergy from entering into monasteries. The council of Saragosa, A. D. 381; declare, that the clergy who abandoned their ministry to become monks, shall be excommunicated.

The monastic institution was not confined to the male sex. Females began at the same time to retire from the world, and dedicate themselves to solitude and devotion. The practice is alluded to in the earlier councils; but it is expressly ordained by the council of Carthage, A. D. 397, that orphan virgins shall be placed in a nunnery; and in the council held next year in the same city, it is ordained, that the superior of a nunnery shall be approved by the bishop of the diocese; from which it appears that by the end of the fourth century they had become frequent, and were subjected to public regulation.

¹⁹ Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. i. cent. 4th, c. 67. 69. Sulpit. Sever. vita S. Martini.

St. Cæsar, bishop of Arles, about A. D. 507, founded a female monastery or nunnery at Arles. As it is one of the first in France of whose regulations we have a distinct account, a summary of them will serve to shew the general nature of the institution²⁰.

Rules of a
female mo-
nastery.

Widows, and children above six years of age, were admitted after a year's probation. They were strictly shut up in the monastery, and secluded from all worldly intercourse. They were neither allowed to go out, nor was any person permitted to come in to them, not even into the church whither they went to worship, excepting the clergy of approved reputation, who were necessary for conducting the religious service.

The abbess, or head of the monastery, attended by two or three of the sisterhood, might occasionally receive a visit, but was prohibited from offering either meat or drink to any one, even to the bishop.

No one was allowed to have any property; all things were common. The abbess herself was not allowed a servant; they all served themselves, and helped one another. They had each a bed, but slept together, old and young, in the same chamber. They were allowed no means of concealment, no repository, not even a chest, press, or drawer, in which to lock up any thing peculiar or valuable. Their beds were simple, without any ornament. They made their own clothes, which were white and plain woollen. Their head-dress, or cap, was restricted to the height of an inch and two lines.

They were tasked daily, but forbidden to work embroidery, or to bleach their garments,

²⁰ Hist. Eccles. par Fleury, tom. vii. liv. 31. § 7.

assume any ornament, or accommodate themselves to any fashion, which they might chance to see or hear of in the world.

All were taught to read, and spent two hours, from six to eight in the morning, in reading; besides what was read by some one to the rest, while they were working.

They fasted on Monday, - Wednesday, - and Friday, every week during the months of September and October. From the first of November to Christmas they fasted every day, excepting Saturdays and festival days; they did the same seven days before Epiphany; from that time to Lent they fasted on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; and of course all the time of Lent.

Their usual allowance was two dishes at dinner, and three at supper; which seem to have been chiefly bread and milk in various forms, vegetables, and fish; for they were never allowed butchers' meat, nor even fowls, unless when sick or infirm.

They were not permitted to bathe, but when it was ordered by the physician.

The means of correction and discipline were reproof and excommunication; but their excommunication consisted in separation only from public prayers, and from the common table at meals. And if both these failed in producing the desired effect, recourse was had to flagellation.

It is remarked, as a singular proof of the mildness of St. Cæsar's discipline, that he never exceeded the scripture rule "of forty stripes save one."

At the end of the fifth century, the monastic institutions had become frequent, many of them

" Vita S^ti Cæsarii.

wealthy, and often disorderly. The emperor Martian required the council of Chalcedon to approve and ordain the following regulations respecting them: That though the persons were to be had in great esteem who live a monastic life, yet because some, under a pretence of embracing that profession, disturb the church and the public peace, it shall be forbidden any church to build a monastery in a city, without the permission of the bishop, and the owner of the lands on which it is built. That the monks should be subject to their bishop, and content themselves with fasting and prayer, without intermeddling either in civil or ecclesiastical affairs, unless they were called to it by the bishop of the city; and finally, that they should not be allowed to admit slaves into their monasteries, or any person engaged in another service, without the consent of his master. In France, the council of Orleans, in the beginning of the sixth century, A. D. 510, ordained, that the abbots and abbeesses should be subject to the bishop, who was authorised to correct them in case of transgression, and to assemble them once a year, for the purpose of inquiry and discipline. The monks are enjoined by it, to be obedient to their abbots, and submit to every rule of their institution. If any of them married, he rendered himself incapable for ever of the clerical order. Such as refused to submit to the clerical discipline, were ordained to be utterly excommunicated.

Saint Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the monastery of Mount Cassin, A. D. 529, is the author of the famous order of Benedictine monks. As his rules are more perfect than those of Cassian, of Chrodogang, or Saint Gregory, and as they gave a general character to the monastic order in Europe,

Rules of
Benedict.

the

the following summary of them may be acceptable²².

He divides them, in the first place, into four classes. The Cœnobites, who lived in a regular community, under the government of an abbot; the Anachorites, or Eremites, who, after learning the exercises of a monastic life, and proving their steadfastness, retired into a desert, in order to enjoy more perfect solitude and mortification; the Sarabaites, who associated two or three together, lived sometimes in solitude, but always without rule or order; and the Gyrovagues, or Vagabonds, who strolled about from one monastery to another, gratifying too freely their inclinations and appetites. It is to the first of these classes, that the following rules are applicable.

Concerning
admission.

The candidate for admission into a monastery shall knock four or five days at the gate, and meet with frequent and rude repulses. If he persist, he may be received into the room appropriated to strangers, and have represented to him the hardships of the profession which he proposes to embrace. If he be not discouraged, after some days he may be brought into the place destined for novices, to be examined and proved. At the end of two months, the rule shall be read to him, and again at the end of six months, and finally at the end of four months; if he shall still persevere in his desire of admission, he may then be received.

Profession.

He shall now make a public profession of his faith and obedience in the chapel or oratory, shall subscribe it with his hand, and shall place it on the altar.

²² D' Achery Spicileg. tom. i. Hist. Eccles. par Fleury, tom. vii. p. 300—312. Dupin's Eccles. Hist. cent. 6th.

He shall give all the property or goods which ^{Property.} he had, to the poor, or to the monastery, and shall then assume the habit of the order.

No one shall strike, offend, or excommunicate ^{Offence.} another. In case of offence, private admonition shall be twice administered; if ineffectual, the offender shall be publicly reprov'd; and if that also fail, fasting, flagellation, and finally excommunication, shall be inflicted.

The abbot shall be chosen by the whole brethren of the monastery; subject, in case of dispute, to the control of the bishop, or of the neighbouring abbots. He shall adhere strictly to the rules of the monastery. In ordinary occurrences of difficulty, he may consult with the older friars (*frères, or fratres*); but in matters of importance, he shall consult the whole brethren. ^{The abbot.}

Under the abbot there were usually a prior, ^{Prior.} or provost, and several deacons. Each deacon had the charge of ten monks, to superintend their conduct and exercises, and to report to the abbot.

The religious exercises appointed them were, ^{Religious exercises.} that they shall rise in winter, from November to Easter, at two o'clock in the morning; that for matins or vigils, they shall sing the hymn of Ambrose, and twelve psalms; that they shall then alternately and separately read three lessons, to each of which they shall chant their responses, after which they shall add six psalms and a Halleluia; they shall then repeat by heart a lesson from the apostles, concluding with *kyrie eleison*. In summer, when the nights are shorter, the lessons may be omitted, and one only may be repeated by heart from the Old Testament, followed by a short response; after which they shall occupy themselves with suitable meditation and profitable reading.

On

to them, but the monk appointed for the time to that service.

Prevalence
of this rule.

The epistles of Saint Grégoire shew that these rules were generally prevalent in the sixth century; and the canons of the council of Autun in the end of the seventh, and of Letine in the middle of the eighth centuries, ordain the friars to observe the rules of Saint Benedict.

Monasteries
numerous.

Such a seclusion from the world, and the order and apparent sanctity which prevailed, inspired general respect and veneration. Parents were ambitious to obtain such a situation and the enjoyment of such privileges for their children, and imagined it to be the direct and secure way to heaven. Every one who was naturally of a gloomy and solitary cast, desired it. Men and women of every rank and description thronged to the gates of monasteries, requesting, and, with perseverance against every repulse, importuning admission. Princes relinquished their thrones and royal honours for the privileges of monastic residence; thither some were urged by their fear of worldly temptations and evils; others vainly courted the applauded sanctity of gloomy solitude; some were ambitious of those stations, offices, and patronage, to which there was no access but through monastic rules and reputation. The poor, the indolent, and in many cases the truly religious, courted the advantages suited to their several tempers in these flourishing institutions.

Wealthy.

Monasteries of course became not only frequent in every country, but extremely rich. The price of their superfluous labour, and a good price was generally got for such holy produce, amounted to a considerable sum, while that of their maintenance was comparatively small. It was natural for the novice, since he must part with his property, to convey

convey it to the institution whence he was to derive his future subsistence. The residence of a dear friend there, was often a powerful motive too for bequeathing extensive property to a monastery. The prayers of so many pious people, occupied almost entirely with devotion, made their intercessions desirable, and requested at any price. The pious and well meaning thought them equal to any sacrifice; wealthy sinners, more willing to part with silver than sin, never hesitated to purchase so good a bargain as the pardon of their guilt for a sum of money; and others, overawed by the prospect of death, reasonably concluded that the prayers of the righteous were to them far more valuable than the worldly fortune, which they had no more either the permission or power to enjoy.

Hence the immense wealth and political influence of monasteries. Abbots and bishops together acquired the best property, and exercised the chief power of the state. In France they directed the judgment of the national assembly, dictated the edicts, and contributed not a little to overturn the throne of the Merovingian kings. Powerful.

So venerated and so powerful, it is no wonder that the life of a monk, which often relaxed in its severity, and indulged in pleasure and indolence, was sometimes preferred to royalty.

Yet nothing was more disgraceful than to be forced into a monastery. A prince, whose head was shaven after the fashion of a monk, and wrapped in a cowl and scapulary, was held degraded; and was disqualified by his monastic vow, from enjoying any civil office, or ever recovering his former rank in civil society.

Another source of aggrandisement was early discovered by the church, and improved by the clergy. Relics.

clergy. They observed the natural respect and veneration of men, for the names and relics of antiquity; that the stories and lives, fragments of bones, clothes, coffins, &c. of martyrs and confessors, who had laboured in the cause, or suffered for the sake of Christianity, were received with avidity. They studied to whet this appetite, and to convert it to the purpose of ecclesiastical gain. When the tombs of Calvary and of the holy land had been all ransacked, pillaged, and exhausted, other tombs and countries supplied the enormous and universal demand. Saints and martyrs were invented for the sake of their bones; and dreams and miracles were employed in the discovery of obscure names, and of sacred graves, till then unknown to fame. To write the life of a saint, to make a pilgrimage to his tomb, to bring home some part of his bones, cross, coffin, clothes, or furniture, to erect a church to his memory, were acts and works not only honourable and meritorious, but lucrative in the extreme. A man was supposed able thereby, not merely to save his own soul and the souls of his friends; but to make his worldly fortune.

Hence the numerous and absurd legends of deceased saints, the number and rich endowment of churches erected to their memory, and the extravagant prices paid to impostors for rotten bones, old wood, musty rags, and rusty iron, to dupe and gratify fanatical purchasers. By prayer and fasting, the bones or ashes of the apostles, and even of the ancient prophets, believed to be discovered after the lapse of many centuries, were transported into various countries, received with pomp and processions by princes and emperors, and multiplied without end, in order to satisfy the insatiable demand. No person almost deemed himself safe at

any time, but especially on a journey, or in any thing like perilous circumstances, without some scrap of a relic in his custody. It was necessary to the security of every habitation, and to the comfort of every family; and no church, or monastery, was held duly consecrated, till it became the repository of some relics of a reputed saint. If his name happened to be famous, then his church was crowded with supplicants, for health, for children, for prosperity; his priests were loaded with gifts, and his treasury was stored with donations of money and land²³.

These relics had increased to such a degree so early as A. D. 517, that the council of Epaone in Burgundy ordained, that no relics should be kept in the oratory of a village, unless a priest was sufficiently near to take charge of them. In the year 594, when the empress asked the body of Saint Paul, or some part of it, from pope Gregory I. to be placed in the church which was then built in honour of that apostle at Constantinople, he wrote her that she had solicited what he durst not grant; "for," said he, "the bodies of the apostles Paul and Peter are so terrible by their miracles, that there is reason to apprehend danger, even in approaching to pray to them. My predecessor wanted to make some alteration on a silver ornament on the body of Saint Peter, at the distance of fifteen feet, when an awful vision appeared to him, which was followed by his death. I wished myself to repair somewhat about the body of Saint Paul, and with that view had occasion to dig a little near his sepulchre; when in digging, the superior of the place raising some bones seemingly

²³ Jerome, tom. ii. - Vita S. Martin. Tur.

“ unconnected with the sacred tomb, had a dismal
 “ vision after it, and suddenly died. In like man-
 “ ner the workmen and monks, not knowing
 “ precisely the grave of Saint Lawrence, acci-
 “ dentally opened it, and having seen the body,
 “ though they did not touch it, died in ten days.
 “ Wherefore, madam,” he adds, “ the Romans,
 “ in granting relics, do not touch the saints’ bodies;
 “ they only put a little linen in a box, which they
 “ place near them; after some time they withdraw
 “ it, and deposit the box and linen solemnly in the
 “ church which they mean to dedicate. This
 “ linen performs as many miracles, as if they had
 “ transported the real body. In the time of pope
 “ Leo, some Greeks doubting the virtue of such
 “ relics, he took a pair of scissars, as we are assur-
 “ ed, and cutting the linen, forthwith the blood
 “ flowed from it.” He adds, however, “ that he
 “ would endeavour to send her a few grains of the
 “ chain which had been on Paul’s neck and hands,
 “ and which had been found peculiarly efficacious,
 “ provided they succeeded, which sometimes they
 “ did not, in filing them off.”

The relics found among Arians, or connected with them, were tried by fire, and they proved genuine and precious if they did not consume*.

Relics were considered as rendering oaths in the highest degree solemn and binding. Tassilon duke of Bavaria, and his nobles, were sworn by Pepin over the bodies of Saint Denis, Saint Germain, and Saint Martin²⁵. For this as well as other purposes of religion and policy, the kings were accustomed to carry them always with them wherever they went.

²⁵ Fleury, Hist. Eccl. tom. viii. p. 91—93.

²⁶ Id. ibid. p. 152. ²⁷ P. Dan. tom. i. p. 376.

The sudden and general conversion of whole provinces left many of the people not only ignorant of Christianity, but deeply attached to their ancient superstition. One of the canons of the first council of Orleans ordains the excommunication of such as continued still to use auguries, divinations, and lots. The fifteenth and sixteenth canons of the fourth council of Orleans, A. D. 541, order all those to be excommunicated, who after baptism still ate of the flesh of animals offered in sacrifice to idols, and who swore, according to the custom of pagans, upon the head of beasts, calling upon the name of their gods. An edict of Childebert, in the middle of the sixth century, threatens with criminal punishment all who retained idols, or figures consecrated to demons, or who did not on such notice destroy them, or allow the priest to do it. So far down as the year 742, the council held by Carloman in Germany ordained every bishop, with the assistance of the count of his district, to preserve the people as far as possible from every kind of pagan superstition, from sacrifices to the dead, and from divinations, auguries, and enchantments.

The rites and ceremonies of the Christian church, which were added to the simple institutions of the gospel, may all be traced to Jewish, Greek, and Roman customs. Some, carrying their prejudices with them into the church, had influence to persuade its rulers to gratify them with such additions as they proposed, taken from the systems and practices to which they had been accustomed. Others hoped that they should render Christianity more accessible to Jews and Heathens, by combining their pomp and ceremonies with Christian ordinances. The canon of the mass was substituted for sacrifices, and many of the ancient Greek mysteries

*Ceremonies
of worship.*

teries and ceremonies were added to the service of the Christian altar. When Gregory Thaumaturgus perceived that the ignorant multitude persisted in their idolatry, on account of the pleasures and sensual gratifications which they enjoyed at the pagan festivals, he granted them permission to indulge in the like pleasures in celebrating the memory of the holy martyrs, hoping that in process of time they would return of their own accord to a more virtuous and regular course of life²⁷. Hence proceeded the lascivious songs and dances found necessary to be prohibited over Spain and France by the council of Toledo, A. D. 589, and again by the council of Chalon on the Saone, A. D. 650, at the festivals of the saints.

From the customs and symbolical style of the east, were derived the practice of worshipping with the face towards the rising of the sun²⁸, frequent signs of the cross, and tasting milk and honey after baptism. "We offer yearly oblations for the dead," says Tertullian²⁹, "in honour of the martyrs. We believe that it is not lawful to fast and to pray to God kneeling on a Sunday, nor from Easter to Whitsuntide. We are anxious to prevent any part of the consecrated bread from falling to the ground. We often sign ourselves with the sign of the cross. If you want scriptural authority for these things, we have none; but we say, tradition has established them, custom has authorized them, and faith enforces them." The lituus of the Roman augurs became the crozier, or bishop's staff; their ceremonies of lustration were added to baptism; their supplications and processions

²⁷ Mosheim, cent. 2. part ii. ch. iv. note (c).

²⁸ Spencer de Legibus Heb. Sanctuar.

²⁹ De Coronâ Militis.

were incorporated with the sacrament of the supper³⁰; their gorgeous robes, and mitres, and tiaras, and those of the Jews, became the apparel and ornaments of Christian ministers, who, instead of presbyters and ministers, also preferred the more ancient name of priest. Gold and silver images, and costly paintings of the apostles and saints, of Jesus Christ and of the Virgin Mary, were thought necessary in the room of Jupiter, Apollo, and Venus, to excite and maintain the veneration and devotion of the people. The manner of consecrating churches was borrowed chiefly from the ancient laws of the sacred College of the Romans³¹. Fasts and festivals were multiplied, and protracted without end; vigils, chanting of prayers, kneeling, and other bodily motions and services, formed the chief part of religious worship³².

The Roman³³ and canon laws had granted the right of sanctuary to churches and bishops' houses. They declared it unlawful to apprehend, or injure criminals who had fled thither for refuge; and that the clergy, to whose protection they had trusted themselves, ought not to deliver them, until they were assured by oath that they should suffer no harm. The abuse of this privilege, however, soon became flagrant and intolerable. The greatest criminals were protected, and men of all

Asylum,
or right of
sanctuary in
churches.

³⁰ Le Brun, Explication Lit. et Hist. des Cerem. de la Messe, tom. ii. Jo. Mabillon Musci Italici, tom. ii. Moheim's Church Hist. passim.

³¹ Sidon. Apollinaris Epist. lib. v. ep. 16. et lib. vi. ep. 1.

³² Gregory's Canon of the Mass. Fleury Hist. Eccl. tom. viii. p. 159.

³³ The Mosaic law respecting cities of refuge, is generally known. Herodotus mentions an asylum of Hercules at Athens; and Livy informs us, that Romulus "asylum aperuit, quo, quicquid perfugerit, ab omni noxa liberatus esset."

descriptions

descriptions encouraged in criminality, by the hope of certain escape and protection. The first council of Orleans confirmed this privilege in general, but were sensible of the necessity of some exceptions. If the refugee retired from the sanctuary of his own accord, and was apprehended, the church had then no right to interfere.

In the case of a rape, it was ordained that if both fled to the sanctuary, the woman should be liberated and the man enslaved, or be obliged to redeem himself; but if it was found that she had consented, then both were to be set at liberty.

A third regulation of the same council is, that a slave who has fled for sanctuary, ought to be delivered up to his master, on making oath that he will not punish him for having deserted his service. That the master may even take him by force, on granting the above assurance; and should he afterwards violate his oath and injure his slave, that he shall then be excommunicated. Notwithstanding ancient custom, and all the effect of these statutes, the right of sanctuary appears to have been frequently violated. Besides particular facts, which often occur to exemplify this, we find repeated canons of councils renewing and enforcing the privilege of sanctuary. The council of Rheims particularly ordains, that they who violently take criminals from the church whither they had fled, shall be excommunicated; that before they be delivered up, the persons receiving them shall make oath that they will not put them to death, nor maim or rack them; and that none shall be allowed to go out of his sanctuary, before he shall have promised that he will do penance for his crime.

Bishop's
visitation.

When the bishop visited his diocese, the arch-deacon went usually before to announce his coming, and to threaten all with excommunication who did

did not attend. On the bishop's arrival, a number of respectable men were sworn, that on being interrogated they would not conceal any thing from him either through love or fear, or hope of gain, but declare, according to the best of their knowledge, the real state of the district or diocese. After which the bishop addressed them as follows :

“ Having thus sworn, not to man only, but to God, see, my brethren, that you maintain the truth. We who are his servants, seek not your property, but the salvation of your souls. Take heed therefore, that you conceal nothing, whereby you may become guilty of the sins of others.”

They were then asked, If there was any person in that parish, who had either intentionally, or by accident, killed another, even his own man or maid servant? If any one had maimed another, or cut off their feet or hands? If any one had been guilty of perjury, of fornication, or adultery? If any one had robbed another, whether freeman or slave, stranger or traveller? If any one, having no right, had presumed to sell another, and especially a Christian to a Jew? or, if the Jews carried on a trade of buying and selling Christian slaves themselves? If they knew of any one using the arts of witchcraft, necromancy, or fortune-telling? of any one offering sacrifices near trees, springs, or remarkable stones, as at an altar? if they brought lights to these places, or seemed to present gifts as to a present deity, good or evil? If any one pretended on certain nights to ride strange animals with devils in the shape of women, or to keep company with them? If any one ate the flesh or blood of a dead animal? If one drank the water in which a weasel, a mouse, or any other unclean animal had been drowned? If any one ate or drank any thing, or carried any charm about him, with a view

to

to avert the judgment of God? If the women, in spinning or weaving, used any expression which was not in the name of the Lord? and if any one sung profane songs in the night-time, or otherwise observed any rites of festivity over the dead?

They were farther interrogated, Whether they knew of any one who withheld the tithes from God and his saints, treated his priests with contempt, went to strange churches, and communicated with or paid tithes to them? Whether deacons were appointed in every parish to admonish the people to attend the church, the matins, the mass, the vespers, to do no work on holidays, and to inform of transgressors? Whether any one refused to pilgrims or travellers the rights of hospitality? Whether any one disputed the bishop's authority, or opposed the discipline which he judged necessary to enjoin, such as the inflicting of stripes with rods on the naked bodies of disorderly peasants or slaves? Whether the fraternities or religious orders behaved themselves with propriety, with temperance, and with due respect to government? or, whether any one sung light or profane songs near the church?

Fastings, penances, and fines, were imposed on the guilty; such as, to repeat twelve hundred psalms in a kneeling posture, or sixteen hundred and eighty standing, or to fast a whole month.

CHAP. III.

The History of Civil Government in France, from
Clovis to Charlemagne.

SECT. I.

Of the Ranks of Men in Civil Society.

DOMESTIC slavery was unknown in Germany and Gaul. Household services were performed by the females and children. Slaves were employed in the labours of the field, and captives taken in war were generally levelled to this rank. Men sometimes reduced themselves voluntarily to the state of slaves by an unbounded ardour for gaming, staking their personal liberty on the last throw of the dice^a.

The lowest
order, slaves.

Masters had absolute dominion over the persons of their slaves, and the power even of punishing them capitally without the intervention of any judge. The life of a slave was deemed of so little value, that a very slight compensation atoned for his murder. Even on very trivial occasions, slaves were questioned by torture.

In earlier times, slaves were not permitted to marry, but were allowed, and even encouraged, to cohabit together, and this union was called *Contubernium*. It came afterwards to be considered as a lawful marriage, with the master's consent; but

^a Tacit. de morib. Germ.

if contracted without his consent, a severe penalty, and sometimes death, was inflicted ².

All the children of slaves were in the same condition with their parents, and became the property of the master. They were liable to be sold as any other property, and passed generally with land from one proprietor to another, "*ascriptitii glebæ*."

They were entitled to nothing from their master but subsistence and clothes; and were externally distinguished from free men, by shaven heads, or very short hair.

They were not admitted as evidence against a free man.

The compensation for murdering a slave, by the Salic law, was only forty-five sols.

Low and dependent as this condition seems, it was not destitute of many comforts. "Every one," says Tacitus, "of the Germans enjoys his own house and family, paying only a certain rent of labour and provisions, of cattle and clothing, to his master."

Such, as Tacitus describes in this last passage, was most probably the state of the Gauls after their conquest by Clovis. They were all subjected to the Franks, but in other respects retained nearly their former condition, not so much as slaves but as subjects. Every Frank became a proprietor, but he gloried only in arms, and disdained to cultivate the soil. This labour, in proportion to the land allotted to him, was assigned to the Gauls by Clovis. He granted them their usual subsistence,

² Se aucune villaine vait d'aucune casal en autre qui ne soit de son Seigneur, et le Seigneur d'ou leüe elle fera venüe n'a pair de la mariee, et se il la marie il doit donner a son Seigneur une autre villaine en eschange, en la coucissant de bonnes gens sans failir. Dubreuil Hist. de Paris, lib. ii. p. 204.

and only demanded such an yearly rent as might enable him to support his rank as a warrior.

The whole revolution then which took place by the conquest of France was, that the more civilised Gaul, formerly a proprietor, was not dispossessed of what he formerly enjoyed, but reduced under the authority and laws of a Frank. He became the farmer, or subordinate proprietor, of what was his former independent property. Inferior tacksmen and cottagers scarcely felt the change.

Every farm, consisting of these different degrees of service, formed a villa, and its inhabitants were called *villani*, or villains. All were *ascriptitii glebæ*, rooted, and transferable, like trees, with the soil.

The master allowed mere subsistence to his slaves, and generally seized any accumulation which they presumed to make by their œconomy or industry. But more respect and indulgence were shewn to some than others, according to the temper of the master; and several slaves, by this indulgence, and their own prudence and diligence, were able to purchase their liberty³.

A second class is mentioned by Tacitus, *Liberti*, Freedmen. or freed men, who by purchase or other favourable means had obtained their liberty, and were thereby raised above the lowest order. They were capable not only of holding and accumulating property, but of rising to the highest rank and offices⁴.

The Franks themselves were all, what Tacitus Freemen. and other writers after him have called, *Ingenui*, or freeborn. A soldier, a freeman, and a Frank, were with them synonymous terms. Few Gauls were at first admitted to the honourable profession of

³ Du Cange, voce *Servus*. Potgiessarus, lib. ii.

⁴ This appears from the ancient formulas annexed to those of Marculfus, c. 8.

arms, and as few Franks submitted, for a considerable time after the conquest, to the inglorious toils of husbandry.

These distinctions, however, wore gradually away. War became more tedious, and less profitable. Agriculture grew more familiar, and agreeable. The low motives of servile fear gradually gave place to the nobler inducements of property and liberty. A small gratuity produced more activity and industry, than the scourge. The relative temper and conduct of the master and slave, changed with the progress of time and civilization.

The state of many slaves, especially of the church lands, seemed preferable to that of the Franks, by whom it was envied; several of whom submitted to the servitude of the clergy, in order to enjoy the privileges of their villains.

Many slaves, on the other hand, were emancipated by religious men, from principles of piety and humanity. Some obtained their liberty fraudulently, by taking a religious vow, and escaping to a monastery. This was, indeed, but changing one species of slavery for another. On any particular occasion, princes and great men liberated a certain number of slaves, as a devout testimony of gratitude to heaven³. "Among other pious actions with which " Clovis celebrated his baptism," says Avitus, bishop of Vienne, " he gave liberty to a great " number of prisoners, whom he had taken in the " preceding wars."

The other distinctions in society arose from personal wisdom and valour, from superior property, and from the important and honourable offices which they held under the king.

³ Marculfi Form. lib. i. c. 39. & ii. c. 52.

The Leuches, Lendes, Antrustiones, or Fideles, were freeborn enterprising youths, who voluntarily attached themselves to the king, to enjoy his hospitality, and gratify their own ambition. He engaged their service and fidelity, by presenting them with a war horse, and a sword; and they bound themselves by a solemn oath to support and defend him at the expence of their lives. Their constant attendance on him obtained them the honourable title of *Comites* (counts); and they were occasionally recompensed with many important offices and benefices.

King's re-
tinues.

Their number increased in consequence of the encouragement which they received, and the privileges which they enjoyed. Their goods could not be confiscated for disobeying the summons of an inferior court, because their attendance on their sovereign might be a preferable and indispensable duty. They were not subjected, but in case of murder, to the lower kinds of proof or trial. When an oath was requisite, they were permitted to depute a vassal to swear for them, and could not be compelled to do it in person; nor was any oath required from them against one another, lest rivalry and mutual prejudice should influence them.

Their pri-
vileges.

Like the German princes whom Tacitus describes, the Merovingian kings thought they added to their own dignity and power by the number of their retainers. The multiplicity of benefices, however, conferred on them, diminished their comparative value, impoverished and alienated the royal demesnes, and so weakened one great motive of attachment. The king was tempted to iniquitous confiscations, and to unseasonable and unjust wars and conquests, in order to obtain lands, which he might distribute in benefices, without being able

Their
abuses.

in the end fully to gratify his dependents. On the contrary, he thereby became dependent on his ministers and vassals, and the Merovingian race was at last dethroned by them.

When Clovis conquered Gaul, his army consisted of various *pagi*, cantons, or clans, headed by their respective chieftains, and inferior officers. The whole army in their assembly claimed, and received, every one according to the rank which he held in the army, a portion of the conquered lands. The partition seems to have been made by lot; and among equals, it is probable the lot was drawn according to seniority. Seignior and barony mean the same thing⁶.

Dukes.

We find some of the relations of Clovis, *parentes ejus*, who accompanied him in this expedition, dignified with the name of *rex*, and gratified with independent sovereignties betwixt the Meuse and the Rhine. Next to these the *duces*, dukes, subordinate chieftains, received extensive territories in such situations as to afford them a residence amidst their followers, that in peace as well as war they might maintain authority and order, and on any emergency instantly summon and lead them to the field.

Principalities.

The territory over which a duke presided was called *ducatus*, a duchy, and sometimes a principality. The latter name seems to have been chiefly applicable when that station was occupied by a prince of the blood, or by a tributary sovereign.

Counts.

As the counts rose by the favour of the king, by the valuable benefices which they received, and by the important and honourable offices which

⁶ Du Cange.

they

they held, the title of count became more coveted in some cases than that of duke⁷.

Seignior, or baron, is, without any other distinction, the general name of the other warriors and landed proprietors. As they must have varied in their qualities, accomplishments, and influence, so they received proportional recompences, in offices and baronies of various rank and extent. The meanest soldier, it is probable, was gratified with a suitable manor. The single soldier who dared to strike passionately the vase of Rheims which Clovis requested, and tell him that he should have nothing more of the booty than fell to him by lot, was undoubtedly qualified to claim and secure his just proportion of the conquered lands. The whole business was transacted in the general assembly, which shall be afterwards described. From this assembly, the king, the leaders, and even every soldier, received his property; and to its summons and decrees all were subject.

Seigniors,
or barons.

Before we consider the state of the king and his ministers, and the nature of these general assemblies, it may be proper to attend to a few observations arising from the view which we have taken of these orders of men, and of their settlement in Gaul, which may briefly illustrate the nature of allodial estates, and the origin and progress of the feudal system.

1. Any estate or lands purchased or acquired, not as a gift either from the assembly, or king, or baron, but by an equivalent, was considered as *proprium*, or propriety; an independent right, accountable to no superior, and conveyable to any one by

Independent
property.

⁷ It seems inaccurate (Boulayvilliers, vol. iii. p. 34.) to say that the counts were civil, and the dukes military, officers. That both were equally civil and military, appears evident throughout the history of France.

deed. We find this kind of property described, and conveyed as such, distinctly from allodial and feudal lands, by forms still in preservation*. They owed service to heaven only, and simple homage to the king. Such was the tenure by which, in a subsequent period, Normandy was held.

Allodial
lands.

2. Allodial lands were the public property gained by conquest or confiscation, and allotted to individuals, and tribes or cantons, by the general assembly.

Various etymologies have been proposed of this word *allodial*. Pasquier, in his ingenious, fanciful, and learned researches, supposes it to be derived from *leude*, a subject; whence also he derives the word *lot*; "because," says he, "the subjects divided the conquered lands by lot".

"Al-od," says Dr. Stuart, in the words of his learned Friend, "is compounded of Al, *totus*, integer, *absolutus*; and Od, *status*, *possessio*, hold, had, or hood, as freehold".

Alode, according to Dr. Robertson, quoting Wauchterus's German Glossary, is compounded of the German particle, *an*, and *loo*, i. e. land obtained by lot".

These opinions serve to shew that any further attempt to ascertain the precise meaning of the term, is vain. We shall, however, attempt to illustrate the subjects which the word denoted.

Tacitus gives the following account of German possessions and culture: "Agri pro numero sortitum ab universis per vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum signationem partiuntur; facili-

* Formul. 47. 49. incerti aetoris.

9 Chap. xv. liv. ii.

10 View of Society in Europe, chap. ii.

11 Charles V. note 8. Sect. 1. note 4.

“ tatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant; arva
 “ per annos mutant, et superest ager¹³.”

Cæsar's account, a hundred years earlier, is similar, but more particular and full: “ Neque quis-
 “ quam agri modum certum, aut fines proprios ha-
 “ bet: sed magistratus et principes in annos singu-
 “ los, gentibus, cognationibusque hominum qui una
 “ cojerunt, quantum, et quo loco visum est agri at-
 “ tribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt¹⁴.”

Speaking of the Suevi, he says, “ Ii centum pagos
 “ habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula mil-
 “ lia armatorum, bellandi causa suis ex finibus edu-
 “ cunt; reliqui qui domi manent, pro se atque illis
 “ colunt: hi rursus invicem anno post in armis sunt,
 “ illi domi remanent: sic neque agricultura, neque
 “ ratio atque usus belli intermittuntur¹⁵.”

The substance of all which is, that the Germans were accustomed to make an yearly partition of their lands, frequently shifting their situation, and alternately relieving one another in the duties of agriculture, and in the business of war.

From these accounts it appears, that the Germans were for ages in an unsettled state, changing yearly their residence and territories. This may have been more necessary in the rude state of agriculture, before the practice of manuring was introduced. It was also a political regulation, lest a spirit of agriculture should diminish their zeal for war, resembling, in several respects, the wandering state of the native Americans; lest some men, extending their possessions with avidity, should grow superior to others, and exclude them from holding any lands; and lest, by fixing their residence, they should build commodious and warm houses, which would render

Mode of
 partition of
 German
 lands.

¹³ De morib. Germ. c. 26.

¹⁴ Lib. vi. c. 20.

¹⁵ Lib. iv. c. 1.

men feeble and effeminate. In a word, that by a community of lands and alternate course of labour, personal jealousies and discord might be prevented.

Their ample German plains, therefore, appear to have been annually divided by the general assembly in March, or by magistrates appointed by them for that purpose; and distributed among the people, according to the number of their tribes and families¹⁵.

These tribes and families were bound, in their turn, to furnish a proportional number of men for war; each tribe, according to its population and extent of territory. If, as among the Suevi, a tribe furnished one thousand for war, another thousand of the same tribe remained at home for agriculture, who, being relieved next year by the warriors, became warriors in their turn.

Hence these lands, even annually, were not the property of individuals, but of the tribe. They were subdivided and parcelled out among them, "*secundum dignationem*," according to their rank; but still it was only for the season, at the end of which the tenure ceased, and next year every tribe received a new territory, and every family a new farm, or a renewal of that which they had occupied before.

Let us now attend the Franks, with these ideas and customs, into Gaul.

In the next general assembly after the battle of Soissons, they probably divided by lot both moveables and lands, as their practice had been in Germany. The lot, indeed, seems to have been that

¹⁵ The land of Canaan was divided in a similar manner; every Israelite able to bear arms seems to have got about twenty acres. Lowman.

mode of partition which they most universally approved. The sons of Clovis, and again the sons of Clotaire, divided their father's kingdom among them *sorte*, or as Gregory of Tours expresses it, "*equa lance*."

Lands divided in this manner were called Salic, Salic lands. as well as allodial, lands; because it was the old practice, when the same tribes occupied the lands on the banks of the Sala, and because it was agreeable to the Salic law. Eccard in his Notes on that law says, *Sala* signifies the court-hall of a lordship, and that Salic lands are the lands of the manor.

Hence we see the reasons for the sixty-second title of the Salic law. These lands were granted to such persons only whose valour deserved them, and who were able and willing, either to bear arms wherever the field of March might direct, or to cultivate the soil. Females were incapable of either of these services, and particularly of carrying arms; they were therefore excluded from the possession of the lands attached to them.

We have no facts to shew, whether the annual distribution of lands was ever observed in Gaul after the conquest, or when these allodial grants became permanent and hereditary. So great a change of situation, a satisfaction in property so complete, and an intercourse with the more civilised Gauls, and especially with the Christian clergy, must, in a period of no great length, have invalidated old, and introduced new ideas and practices in property and agriculture. Every one, as he became attached to his own place and people, would gladly wave any motion for a new division; gradually taking root in a soil so favourable, it became unnatural and painful to be transplanted.

It must soon have been found to be also inexpedient. The prospect of permanent enjoyment gave

gave encouragement to labour. Every place became peculiarly valuable in the estimation of its possessor, proportioned to his industry; and while he improved its value, and augmented his own enjoyment yearly, the desire became extremely natural to leave it as an inheritance to his children.

Right of
succession.

The manner of succession is not precisely ascertained; but it is certain that males only could succeed: illegitimate sons were not excluded. Other circumstances being equal, the oldest son was preferred: but eloquence, valour, and martial fame, were still more entitled to preference, according to the spirit of the German manners. Such a character, and talents, sometimes were the means of raising the younger princes of the Merovingian race to the throne, in preference to their elder brothers. The crown usually descends according to the common law of a country; and therefore it is most probable that allodial lands, agreeably to the rule of royal succession, were hereditary in a family, but enjoyed at the same time as the motive and the recompence of valour, by those of that family who were the most eloquent to claim, and the most able and valiant to defend them¹⁶.

The manner in which allodial estates became subject to feudal principles, will be considered under the period of French history which follows the death of Charlemagne.

Benefices.

3. Lands were early conferred as benefices. We need not suppose with Pasquier, that the Franks

¹⁶ Dr. Robertson, Charles V. vol. i. note 6. and 8. supposes that allodial proprietors were not obliged to go to war. From what is advanced above, however, and even from his own illustrations, and particularly from the Salic law and capitularies, they appear, from the very design of assigning them their lands, and from the tenure by which they held them, to have been obliged to march when and wherever the general assembly and the king should command them.

borrowed

borrowed the practice of conferring benefices from the Romans; it seems natural among every people in a similar state of society, who have lands to dispose of. There were customs among the Germans peculiarly favourable to this practice. They considered it of great importance to leave vast commons unoccupied around their territories²⁷. The same practice prevailed, whether by means of the Franks or not, in Gaul. This custom gradually yields, in every civilised country, to the desire of property, and the increase of population.

The king at first gratified his military attendants with benefices out of the waste lands, or commons, connected with his own barony. The nobles imitated the king, who next encroached on his own personal estate, and parcelled out a great part of it among his followers.

Some writers are of opinion that there were public or fife lands, which formed the revenue of the government²⁸; and that the king, having the management of them, granted them also in benefices. This seems improbable; first, because no public revenue was necessary, every soldier and military officer being obliged to bear his own expence; and secondly, because the general assemblies were too jealous of their rights to allow such application of the public property; and thirdly, if any property was conferred by the general assembly, it was considered, not as a benefice, but as an allodial estate. And this constituted the difference betwixt these two, that a benefice was the gift of the king, and allodial estates the gift of the general assembly, or of magistrates acting under their authority.

²⁷ Cæs. lib. iv. c. 2. & vi. c. 21. Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 26.

²⁸ Dr. Stuart's View of Society in Europe.

In the progress of time, it is true, the general assemblies became neglected, and thinly attended; the power of the people and of the nobles declined, and the prerogative of the king was proportionally augmented, till about the time of Clovis II. Then the confiscated and conquered lands, as well as commons, might, irregularly and through the undue influence of the crown, be granted by the king in benefices, instead of being conferred by the assemblies.

First instance of a benefice.

The first instance which we meet with of a benefice among the Franks, was on occasion of Clovis's marriage with Clotildis, in the year 493¹⁹. It was conferred on Aurelian, who negotiated that marriage, and had conducted the young queen with great prudence and gallantry. "Unde cum Clodovæus regnum suum usque ad Sequanam, atque postmodum usque ad Ligerun fluvios ampliaffet, Milidunum Castrum eidem Aureliano cum totius Ducatu regionis, jure beneficii concessit."

At so early a period, the whole lands of the kingdom were still considered as revertible annually to the general assembly. The beneficiary tenure could not be longer, nor stronger, than the allodial. Even after the allodial grants became more fixed and permanent, benefices continued to be held during pleasure; for no one could bestow a permanent grant of that which he held himself but *sub silentio*. At the same time, it would seldom be recalled while the motive for conferring it prevailed. As long as Aurelian, or Clovis, lived, the memory of his services secured to him the castle and duchy of Melun.

¹⁹ Aimoinus, lib. i. c. 7.

After

After men have been accustomed to hold any thing of value, they naturally yield it with reluctance; they are anxious to seize every favourable opportunity of securing the possession and enjoyment of it, not only for their own life, but to their children after them.

Before the queen Brunehaut's death, about A. D. 614, the holders of benefices had become so numerous and powerful, that they were able, by conspiring together, to make it an essential article of the treaty of Andely, that the lands then held as benefices should be declared thenceforth to be hereditary²⁰. Brunehaut's violations of that treaty, together with the avarice of Protadius, mayor of the palace, appear to have moved these beneficiaries to many of the cruelties attending her death²¹. The assembly of Paris, A. D. 615, declared benefices irrevocably hereditary²².

The frequent rebellions and confiscations under the Merovingian, and in the rise of the Carolingian race, produced a considerable fluctuation of property. Many of the original allodial estates were forfeited, and conferred by the kings and ambitious mayors as benefices on their private friends. The kind of tenure by which lands were held, was thus very much changed before the death of Charlemagne. When the lands were exhausted in this way, offices, as the governments of counties and provinces, were granted by a similar tenure; and benefices continued for ages increasing in their number and magnitude, gradually acquiring that form which has so much attracted the notice and

Benefices
hereditary.

²⁰ Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 20. See also lib. i. 14. 17. 31. Form. Marculf. Dr. Robertson and Dr. Stuart, following the Abbé de Mably, place the æra of benefices near two centuries later.

²¹ Fredegarii Chron. c. 27. ²² Concil. Gallor. tom. i. admira-

admiration of the moderns under the name of the feudal system.

Etymology
of feudal.

Feo, or *fe*, signifies recompence, or wages; and *od*, possession. Hence *feodum*, and *fes*, denote land conferred in return for service. In many cases they might have a retrospect, but they were generally intended to engage future service. Prone to imitate their superiors, beneficiaries engaged by some subordinate grants the homage and service of their inferiors, forming gradually that regular system of feudal subordination from the king down to the meanest vassal. Every one dependent on another, was obliged to obey his summons, and yield him military service; and, on the other hand, the vassals or inferiors found protection and other privileges under the authority and power of their lord.

Rights and
services of
beneficia-
ries.

Besides military service, there were various other duties occasionally required, especially from inferior vassals, *in prato vel in messe, in aratura vel in vinea*²². And besides protection from positive violence, the vassal trusted in the wisdom and justice, and generally in the civil jurisdiction, of his lord.

This system attained its height a considerable time after the death of Charlemagne. But in tracing its rise and progress, we cannot easily avoid the phrases which are more suitably employed in the representation of its more perfect state.

On the whole, when we first attend to the allodial grants, we see the people in their general assembly supreme. The allurements of property afterwards gradually diminish their ardor for war, and relax their attendance on the assemblies of March. The wisdom and the valour of the king, his influence in these assemblies, and the benefices which he con-

²² Ducange, voce *Arimanni*. *Conditionales*, &c.

ferred on those who flattered and supported him, raised the scale of royal power considerably above that of the people. But again, as these benefices became fiefs, properly so called, as the feudal system rose, and with it the aristocratical power, the royal influence and authority declined. This last revolution appears to have begun before, and rapidly advanced after, the death of Charlemagne.

These observations seemed pertinent on this part of history, which represents the state of those orders of men who were superior to slaves, but subject to the king. We now proceed to describe the state of the king, and of his household and government.

The king was originally the chief of the allodial proprietors; or he was the principal baron, to whom the general assembly committed the executive power, the command of the army, and general administration of the kingdom. Originally chosen on account of his superior wisdom and valour, his honours and government, in latter times, became hereditary in his family. But though hereditary in both the Merovingian and Carolingian race, the succession was repeatedly disturbed by violence, and by those changes which are the effects of indolence or imprudence, or of those providential revolutions to which all things human are subject ²².

The king.

His

²² The nature of royal succession in France has been much disputed. The dissertations published on the subject are extremely numerous, and some of them ingenious and interesting. Hotman, Du Haillan, &c. have represented the crown of the ancient Franks as purely elective. Du Tillet, Fauchet, Jerome Bignon, &c. have affirmed, that it was purely hereditary. The Abbés Vertot and Thuilleries have endeavoured to prove that it was both hereditary and elective: that is, even after hereditary succession became customary, that the people still claimed

**Mode of
accession.**

His election, or succession, proclaimed in early times by the simple action of elevating him on a shield, and sometimes by carrying him thus around the camp, was changed by Pepin the first Carolingian king, into solemn unction by the ministry of a bishop, according to the ancient practice of the kings of Israel.

Revenue.

The rents and produce of his personal and royal demesnes were the principal funds which he enjoyed for the maintenance of his family and kingly rank and dignity. His other sources of public revenue will be afterwards considered.

Expence.

His expences were not necessarily great, and consisted chiefly, like those of other great barons, in the exercise of hospitality. In the later times, indeed, of the Carolingian race, the royal lands and property were often exhausted by donations and benefices to such men as it seemed of importance to attach to their persons, and to secure in their interests, amidst great political convulsions and critical wars.

**Division of
property.**

On the demise of the king, his property fell to be equally divided among his family, nor were his illegitimate children absolutely excluded. The crown itself, on being established in the family of Clovis, and again in the family of Pepin, came to

claimed the right of election, or of formally nominating the successor.

M. Foncecagne aims to shew, that the crown has been successively hereditary: that is, that it descended successively in the royal family, but not always to the eldest son, nor in a direct line from any one to another, according to the priority of age.

Dissertations on this subject may be found in almost every one of the first ten volumes, and particularly in the 6th and 8th, of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. See also Père Daniel's Preface Historique.

follow

follow the law of property in this respect, and was divided among the king's sons.

Princesses received moveables, and sometimes lands, for their subsistence and dowry; not allodial lands however, "*ne lancea transeat infusum*"²⁴. The queen dowager was entitled to a third of all moveables which belonged to the deceased king²⁵.

In some cases we find the kings, as in the treaty of Andelaw betwixt Childebert and Gontran, arbitrarily conveying both their kingdom and private property, cities, territories, and even fiscal lands, without regard to the general or common law of the realm²⁶.

The ministers of the king appear in early times as the domestic servants of a great baron. To one was entrusted the charge of all the rest, and of the general household. He was called the mayor of the palace. He superintended not only the affairs of the house, but of the estate; he settled accounts with the tenants, or occupiers of the lands, gave judgment in their differences, and generally exercised a deputed authority over them.

The transition was easy, from the exercise of domestic, to that of political authority. The aggrandisement of the mayor followed that of the king; and with the sovereignty of his royal master, his authority extended over the kingdom. He issued, in the king's name, summons of attendance to the court, to the general assembly, and to the

²⁴ We find the princesses by courtesy often called queens, as the princes were also called kings. When lands were assigned them, it was only in life-rent, or till marriage. Childebert and Gontran, in the treaty of Andelaw, however, trespassed against this general rule.

²⁵ If the queen received any lands, they reverted on her death. Mem. Acad. tom. viii.

²⁶ Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 20. Velly Histoire, tom. i. p. 148.

field of battle. He directed the revenue, and headed the army²⁷.

Mayor of the palace was sometimes titular and honorary. When Chilperic sent Waddon to attend his daughter, on her marriage with Recaredus, into Spain, in order to give him name and rank, he created him mayor of the palace to the royal bride.

The mayor was originally chosen as his own servant by the king, and his office was temporary. He appears afterwards to be chosen, not by the king, but by the nobility of the kingdom. The grandees having, in the reign of Sigibert, elected Chrocin, a very respectable seigneur, he refused to accept the office, alleging, that the nobility in general were his relations; and that, were he mayor, he would think himself obliged, in the discharge of his duty, to correct their excesses with severity. In admiration of his honesty and disinterestedness, they requested him then to name one whom he judged the most suitable for the office. He knew Gogon's wisdom, worth, and valour; he named him; and on his being approved and elected, he went up to him, and raised the arm of the young man, as he is called, over his (Chrocin's) head, in token of submission to his authority and admi-

²⁷ "Opes et potentia regni penes palatii prefectos, qui majores domus dicebantur." Fragment. Hist. Auctoris incerti apud Duchesne, vol. i.

It seems unnecessary to suppose, with Mezerai, Abregé Chronol. tom. i. p. 317. that the Franks, imitating the state of the Roman emperors, intended their mayor to serve in the place of the prefect of the Pretorian or Imperial palace.

Their titles, in fact, were changed with the progress of their power. From being chief domestic servant, they rose to *dux Francorum*, *dux et princeps*, et *subregulus*. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. x.

niftration; and all present did the same²⁸. Gogon was afterwards employed as Sigibert's ambassador, to negotiate his marriage with Brunehaut, or Brunechilde, daughter of Athanagilde, king of the Visigoths in Spain.

From being temporary, the office came to be held during life. Garnier, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, would not take any step in opposition to Brunehaut, till Clotaire consented to confirm him for life in his mayorship. Radon, mayor of Austrasia, and Gondeland, mayor of the united kingdoms of Soissons and Paris, or Neustrasia, demanded, and obtained, the same terms for their services. What they thus got conditionally, their successors claimed as a right. It was after this revolution, that the mayors were chosen by the nation²⁹.

Grimoalde's ambition carried the office to its utmost height under Sigibert II. He did not actually ascend the throne. This final step of the mayoralty was reserved to Pepin, a century after; but he made the weak prince, his master, yet a youth, adopt his son as heir of the crown, on condition that he had no heirs of his own body.

The frequent division of the kingdom into small portions among the sons of the deceased monarch, and the contentions and wars of these princes, contributed greatly to the inordinate ambition and power of the mayors. They were often men of great talents and experience, while

²⁸ Fredegarii Epit. c. 58, 59. "Quod reliqui cernentes ejusdem sequuntur exemplum." These words rather indicate, that this custom of elevating the arm over the neck, was unusual.

²⁹ Gest. rerum Fr. c. 36. especially c. 45. Fredeg. c. 54-101. 105. Aimoin, lib. iv. c. 15. Eginhart, c. 48. Also the treatise, De Majoribus Domus Regiæ.

their royal masters were infants, inexperienced, or destitute of abilities. They took advantage of all these circumstances and occurrences, of divisions and contentions, of minorities and weakness, of indolence and sensuality, to aggrandise their office; till Pepin finally, and without a struggle, ascended, from the office of mayor, to the throne³⁰.

The chamberlain.

The chamberlain had the charge of the whole apartments, either for lodging the family or strangers, or for storing provisions. He received the rents, which were then paid chiefly in kind; that is, in cattle, fowls, and grain; and he distributed them again, as they were wanted. From Hincmar³¹ it appears, that he was properly the queen's servant; and we find him repeatedly acting in concert with her, and under her direction. The frequency of Landri's transactions with Fredegonde as her chamberlain, gave rise to jealousy, and occasioned those reports, which were credited, against them. Under active and economical queens, the office was nominal. Charlemagne's second and third wives were their own chamberlains.

When the rents in kind were converted into money, the chamberlain still superintended the king's revenue; but the business was gradually devolved on his clerk, the chancellor of the exchequer. In England, this chancellor became the great financier, and the chief responsible servant of the crown.

³⁰ Henault's Chronol. Abridgment of the History of France, under particular remarks at the end of his account of the first race, gives a list of 58 mayors under the first race. Under the second race, there were no mayors.

³¹ "De honestate vero palatii, seu specialiter, ornamento regali, nec non, et de donis annuis militum, absque cibo et potu, vel equis, ad reginam præcipue, et sub ipsa ad Camerarium pertinebat." Hincmar, de Ordine Palatii.

The seneschal³², steward, butler, or cup-bearer, The seneschal. superintended the king's table and cellar. It is not easy to distinguish him, sometimes, from the other officers of the palace.

The apocrietary³³ was the king's chaplain, high almoner, and secretary. Apocrietary. He presided in the king's court, when the king himself was absent; and he usually recorded the decisions of that court. Under the second race, he became lord high chancellor of the kingdom³⁴. The union of chaplain, secretary, clerk, and vice-president of the king's court, was the natural consequence, both of conveniency, and of the state of education in those times, when the clergy only retained learning and skill enough to act as clerks and lawyers.

The constable, *comes stabuli*, or chief groom, Constable. superintended the royal stables. When cavalry were introduced into the army, he naturally headed and commanded them; and so gradually rose to his subsequent high rank and power.

The marshal, *maire de cheval*, was the royal smith and farrier: his presence and aid were always necessary to the constable; and the rank and power of the one, kept pace with those of the other. Marshal.

The referendary was the keeper of the king's seal, and probably the same person often with the apocrietary and chancellor³⁵. Referendary.

³² A word, half Latin, says Pasquier, in his Researches; and half French, as it were, *senex chevalier*, an old knight.

³³ From a Greek word, which signifies to answer, to correspond, and also to separate and conceal.

³⁴ "Cui sociabatur summus cancellarius, qui a secretis olim appellabatur." Hincmar, de Ord. Palatii.

³⁵ This is Pasquier's opinion, for which he quotes Aimoin, lib. iv. and Gregory of Tours, lib. x. c. 10.

Besides the great referendary, there were under him other officers of the same name, who acted as his clerks.

Referendary was also the name of the chief magistrates of the kingdom during the Merovingian race. Pasquier is of opinion, that these were officers in Gaul before it was conquered by the Franks, and so were continued by them after the conquest; or that they were created by them, in imitation of similar offices in the palace of Constantinople.

The choice of these officers originally belonged to the king; but occasional revolutions, his own condescension, or his weakness, frequently yielded the right of their election to the people. The general assemblies, when unoccupied with more important business, sometimes insisted on disposing of every thing relative to internal government; at other times they were careless, and left officers and administration almost wholly to the king.

Neither was the king steady in the exercise and maintenance of his royal prerogative. The officers of the household, and of the crown, who were originally changeable at pleasure, became fond of the rank and power attached to their offices. They were coveted by the first nobility, secured to them on account of particular favours, granted to them for life, and were afterwards held by them with obstinacy, till at last they became hereditary.

Such were the alternate changes of power, in the king and the officers of his household. They originally were his servants and dependents. They gradually acquired the ascendancy over him, till again, in later times, and by junctures more favourable to the royal prerogative, however unfavourable to liberty, he became independent and absolute.

Similar vicissitudes are observable, in respect of the king and the army. At the time of the conquest,

quest, a single soldier in the ranks could challenge the conduct of the king; and the whole army obliged Clotaire I. to resign his will to theirs. After the conquest of Gaul, the military spirit yielded in some measure to agriculture. Retirement and domestic pleasures were preferred to tumultuous assemblies, and to the fatigues and dangers of war. The great chieftains occasionally absented themselves. The king and his dependents obtained the management of the field of March, and the more absolute government of the army. The benefices which he could confer, and the great offices at his disposal, augmented his power; but that power again declined with the Merovingian race. The influence of the people, and their rude sense of liberty, were diminished; but the nobles again felt their importance, and rose by those very benefices and public offices being permanent, by which the kings hoped to augment their own power. Charlemagne perceived the tendency and preponderancy of power on the side of the nobles, and attempted to check it; but his endeavours were rendered ineffectual, by the feebleness and folly of his successors.

The annual assemblies of the people were at once the great source of royal power, and the chief means of controlling it. They were usual among the ancient Germans³⁶. Every village, pagus, or small district, independent with respect to its civil rights and jurisdiction, united itself politically to other neighbouring cantons, and formed a general confederacy.

Annual
assembly of
the field of
March.

Every year, about the sixth day of the new moon in March, all of the confederate tribes who were able to bear arms, assembled in some open and

³⁶ Tacitus, de morib. Germ.

extensive field, the most central and convenient.

When agriculture became more the subject of attention, the time of meeting was changed to May; and hence the assembly is called *Campus Martii*, and *Campus Maia*, the field of March, or of May³⁷.

All ranks able to bear arms attended. Every man was a soldier, and came forward armed, and with provisions for a certain time. They were supposed not to know, till they came to the assembly, whether their service might be required in a defensive or offensive war. A heavy fine was therefore imposed by the Salic law on any absentee, unless he were sick, occupied with his superior's service, or had some near relation recently dead³⁸.

But all were generally zealous enough to obey the summons. War was the employment then reckoned the most honourable, the most pleasant, and the most profitable. The ruder tribes were often straitened for subsistence during summer, without having recourse to incursions and pillaging. Hence the restlessness of these barbarians, and their frequent and unprovoked ravages.

All ranks
attended.

That all ranks attended the field of March, appears farther from the preface or prologue to the several re-enactments of the Salic law, or emendations of it, as of that under Clotaire: "Hoc decretum est
" apud regem et principes ejus, et apud cunctum
" populum Christianum, qui infra regnum Mero-

³⁷ "Quando ordinabatur status totius regni: nullus eventus
" rerum, nisi summa necessitas mutabat." Hincmar, de Ord.
Palatii.

³⁸ "Si in malum vocatus fuerit, et is qui vocatus est non
" venit, si eum aut infirmitas, aut ambascia dominica detinuerit,
" vel forte aliquem de proximis mortuum intra domum suam ha-
" buerit, per istas sumis se poterit homo excusare; alias de vita
" componat, aut ee. sol. culpabilis judicetur." Tit. 19. leg. 6.
" vungorum

“vungorum consistunt.” And the assembly held by Charlemagne at Ingelhem, A. D. 788. consisted of *pontifices majores, minores, sacerdotes, reguli, duces, comites, præfecti, cives, and oppidani*³⁹. Their order.

The Author of the *Annales Metenses* thus describes a national assembly held at Valenciennes, A. D. 693.

Clovis III. clothed in his royal robes presided. His robe, in form of a Dalmatique, was white and blue, hanging down to his feet before, short on both sides, and trailing behind. The crown, as usual, was on his head, and the sceptre in his hand. The crown was a circle of gold, ornamented with two rows of precious stones. The sceptre was a rod of gold, about the length of the prince, terminating in a cross. The throne, however otherwise ornamented, had neither back nor arms. Next to the king were twelve bishops, to whom the acts of assembly give the title of illustrious; and after them, eight seigneurs, barons, or lords, with the title simply of counts; eight *graffions*, or judges of the fisc or treasury; four household officers, or governors of palaces; four referendaries; and four seneschals: the count of the palace was the last in order, and the act or decree of the assembly was subscribed by the chancellor, then the clerk of the court.

The people convened slowly, not being accustomed to observe a precise hour, nor even day. When duly convened, the assembly was constituted by a priest; after which the business was proposed, and every one who chose delivered his opinion freely, and was listened to, according to his age and experience, his wisdom, valour, and eloquence. When the business was discussed, and the

Their subjects of discussion, and mode of decision.

³⁹ *Annales Francorum.*

decree

decree proposed for general sanction, the multitude disapproved, by a general murmur; they approved, by the clash of arms. "The king presided in a "chair of state," says the Author of the *Annales Francorum*, "circumstante exercitu, precipiebat-
"que is, die illo quicquid, a Francis decretum
"erat."

In later times, after the proposition had been duly deliberated on, it was read aloud, and the people being called on, cried three times, "we are "satisfied." Then the king, the clergy, and the nobles, subscribed the decree, and it became a law ⁴⁰.

One of the first subjects generally of their deliberation in earlier times, was peace, or war; if war, against whom? under what leader? and with what number of forces? When these subjects were settled, they made regulations for the confederacy, the nation, or the community. They enacted and amended the Salic and Ripuary laws. The capitularies, and other ordinances of the kingdom, were enacted by the king and council only, and were not equivalent to laws, but to an edict or proclamation.

Every thing was subject to the cognisance, and determined by the authority of the general assembly, which regulated and confirmed the testaments of kings, as that of Charlemagne ⁴¹; and the sovereignties of princes, as that of Pepin's sons ⁴²: they tried and condemned the most eminent persons, as the dowager queen Brunehaut, and Tassilon duke of Bavaria. In a word, the sovereignty resided in

⁴⁰ Capitul. A. D. 822.

⁴¹ "Contestatus eos, ut post obitum suum a se facta distributio per illorum suffragium rata permaneret," Eginhartus, de Vita Car. Magni, cap. 33.

⁴² Id. c. 3.

them,

them, of which the king was but the representative⁴³.

After Christianity was thoroughly established in France, the attendance of the clergy in the national assemblies was so numerous, their authority so great, and the subjects treated of in them so generally ecclesiastical, that they are frequently not to be distinguished from ecclesiastical councils. Of this we may be satisfied, by the slightest comparison of the decrees of these councils with the capitularies⁴⁴.

When the unity of the nation was broken, by the division of it among the sons of Clovis, of Clotaire, &c. when property became more settled, and domestic retirement more attractive, these assemblies were less frequented and seldomer convened. They were at last discontinued, partly from neglect, and partly from political design, that they might not interfere with the power, sometimes of the king, and sometimes of the mayor; till Pepin, confident of his popularity and universal authority, thought they might be converted into the means of his aggrandisement. He revived them, and by his influence and eloquence in them, obtained the unanimous consent and voice of all ranks, that he should degrade the last of the Merovingian kings, and seat himself on his throne.

Charlemagne restored the regular observance of these assemblies twice a year; and to prevent the irregularity and confusion of the multitudes who attended indiscriminately, he ordained that every county or province should send twelve representa-

⁴³ Capitul. lib. ii. 23.

⁴⁴ The capitularies of Charlemagne and his successors were collected by Ansegise, and afterwards those of preceding reigns, by his son Benedictus Levita. See Codex Legum, ex Biblioth. Lindenbrog.

tives,

tives, chosen from the class of Rachenburgs⁴⁵, men capable of being appointed officers of justice, principal citizens, together with the *avoués*, or bishop's commissaries. These, with the counts, dukes, abbots, bishops, and officers of the crown, composed the general assembly of the empire. By thus giving a seat and influence to inferior barons and respectable citizens, Charlemagne politically diminished the influence of the church and of the aristocracy; and had this truly great man lived till his intentions had been fulfilled, or had his successors inherited his spirit and talents, the constitution of France would have been similar to that of Britain, and far more early defined and established. But an over-ruling Providence seems designedly to mould the governments of nations, as it does the lot of individuals, into an infinite variety of forms, in order to try and prove what is the nature and effect of every state, as well as of every age and climate, on the human mind.

Assembly of
August.

It was usual among the Germans, for the assembly to meet again, at the conclusion of every campaign, in August, for the purpose of dividing the plunder, or the conquered lands, and for settling other public matters, which could not be foreseen or overtaken in March, and which could not admit of longer delay.

The autumn meeting was much less frequented than the spring assembly, and had fallen into disuse, till Charlemagne revived it.

Donations to
the king.

At both assemblies, but especially in autumn, it was customary to bring presents of various kinds to the king. They consisted chiefly of grain, cattle, and horses. In the third year of Charlemagne, it

⁴⁵ "Rachenburgi dicuntur commissarii ad componendas lites instituti." Salic Law, tit. 53. note Geo. Ecard.

was ordained, that the horses presented to the king should have the names of the donors inscribed on them⁴⁶.

These donations being considerable, formed no small part of the royal revenue. Some of the tributary states were expected to bring a certain number of cattle. The annual present from Saxony, was five hundred. It was enacted, indeed, as a debt; and if refused, became the occasion of war.

When the state of the weather did not permit the assembly to be held in the open field, and especially after Charlemagne had reduced the number of regular attendants, they met in halls prepared for that purpose. "The clergy, the nobles, and the inferior members, sat separately," says Hincmar; "but they often deliberated also together"⁴⁷.

The same author mentions a council of state, elected with the utmost regard to their prudence and secrecy, of whom the chancellor and chamberlain were *ex officio* members; whose business, among other things, was to prepare and ripen matters for the general assembly. Halls.
Council of
secrecy.

The kings of France of the first and second race never pretended, even with the advice of this council, to make laws; but they sometimes injuriously suspended the execution of them. By precepts similar to the rescripts of the Roman emperor, they sometimes interfered in particular cases, and disturbed the operation of the law. Clotaire II. endeavoured to rectify this disorder; but Charlemagne, chiefly by the salutary laws which he procured to be enacted, and by the courts of law which he established, con-

⁴⁶ Capitul. Carol. Magni. Georgio Eccardo, p. 177.

⁴⁷ De Ordine Palatii.

tributed above all to promote and secure universal justice and equity ⁴⁸.

It has been already observed, that the capitularies wanted the sanction of laws, because they were enacted, not by the general assembly, but by the king in council. At the same time, it is not always easy to mark the difference with precision; for sometimes the assembly was thinly attended, at other times the council was extremely numerous. Charlemagne was of opinion that they ought to have the force of laws, and ordained accordingly; yet a sense of ancient order, and of the right of the people, prevailed, and always preserved and maintained a distinction betwixt national laws and royal edicts and capitularies.

SECT. II.

Of Laws which prevailed in France before the Death of Charlemagne.

Laws.

IN order to form a just idea of the jurisprudence of France during the period of which we now write, it is necessary to study the laws of the several nations which preceded, or composed, the French empire.

Upwards

⁴⁸ The states-general, first convened A. D. 1302, composed like Charlemagne's assembly of the three orders of men, nobles, clergy, and inferior citizens, *tiers etat*, were very different, according to the extent of their legislative power.

The king simply laid before the states-general the affairs on account of which he had summoned them. They deliberated on these, and drew up their cahier, or memorial, containing their answer to the propositions laid before them. Their answer, whether approving or disapproving of the propositions, being

Upwards of five hundred years, from the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, to its conquest by Clovis, the Gauls had been generally governed by the Roman law. The Romans zealously promoted the observance of it among them, sometimes by force, and sometimes by friendship; and a ruder people also naturally, however gradually, imbibed the spirit, and adopted the customs of their more civilized superiors. Their government and manners were so thoroughly accommodated to those of the Romans when the Franks invaded them, that the earliest of the Merovingian princes wisely ordered that their private litigations should continue to be settled by the Roman law. The observance of this law during so long a time, must have left a deep impression, and may be expected, in the subsequent periods of history, to have a considerable share in forming the principles and character of French jurisprudence¹.

The conquerors of Gaul, who succeeded the Romans, it is true, had each of them also their peculiar code of laws, to which they were subject themselves, and which in many cases they prescribed to the people whom they subdued. Yet they appear to have revered the Roman law, and to have regarded and adopted it more than they superseded it². The Visigoths particularly avowed their

being considered by the king and his council, gave rise usually to an ordinance of the king; but the states did not exercise any other legislative power.

¹ "Hac porro lege utebantur, præsertim Galli Romani, id est, qui a veteribus Galliæ incolis, qui Romanis, antequàm Burgundionibus ac Frances parent, ortum dicebant." Du Cange ad Voc. Lex Rom.

"Inter Romanos negotia causarum Romanis legibus præcipuum terminari." Constit. Clotarii Regis, cap. 4.

² "Theodorico autem ipso dictante jussit conscribere legem Francorum, &c. et unicuique genti quæ in ejus potestate erat
"secundum

their accommodation to it in many points, and its principles are occasionally found blended with their laws. We shall become more intimately acquainted with the character of the people, and with their several customs and governments, if we take a summary view of the Roman, Salic, Ripuarian, Visigoth, and Burgundian laws.

I. *Of the Roman Law.*

Roman law.

The Roman law, as it is now known in the Justinian Code, was not introduced into Europe till near the middle of the twelfth century; but its principles and practice derived from the constitutions of the ancient kings, from the twelve tables of the Decemvirs, from the statutes of the people and of the senate, from the edicts of the prætor, and from the decrees of the emperors, were universally prevalent over the empire, and had been collected and published in the Theodosian Code fifty years before the conquest of Gaul by Clovis. It seems no anachronism, therefore, to have recourse to the Code and Institutions of Justinian, since he collected and arranged only those laws and principles of law, which were known and observed over the empire at the time to which we refer. We shall follow the usual division, and by observing the same arrangement in considering the laws of the other nations, we shall the more easily compare them together, and judge of their respective merits and character.

1. *Of Persons.*

The Romans originally boasted of their equality, as well as of their freedom. As fellow-citizens, be-

“secundum consuetudinem suam.” Prolog. seu Præfatio Legis Salicæ Edita Geor. Eccardo. See various authorities to the same effect in Du Cange Gloss. ad Voc. Lex.

fides

sides the *nobiles*, *equites*, and *plebs*, there was no distinction but that which arose from official and temporary rank and authority. Dictators, consuls; and other officers of the state, on the expiration of their office, returned to their level, and mingled with the ordinary rank of freemen. This class of men derived their rank from their birth, whether they were born of parents who were both free, who were both freed, or who were one of them freed and the other free³. Freemen.

Slaves were such as were taken captives in war, and hence called often *mancipia*, as taken with the hand rather than slain with the sword. It seemed an act of mercy, and there was no small inducement to save men's lives from the savage fury of slaughter, in the price which they generally received for their captives, or in the service, if they needed it, which they themselves obtained from them. A second cause of slavery was purchase, whether they were captives in war or not; for the Romans bought and sold them personally and freely. A third source of slavery was birth; children born *ex ancillis*, of bond women, were all slaves. And a fourth, was voluntary sale; for a freeman above one and twenty years of age had the power of disposing of his own person, and for such a price as he chose to accept⁴. Slaves.

Slaves were incapable of any public act, without the consent of their master. They could not acquire any property of their own; all they acquired was the property of their masters. They could neither make a testament, nor bear testimony in a court of justice⁵. Without the consent of their master they could not marry; they might attach

³ Institut. lib. i. tit. 4.⁴ Ibid. tit. 3.⁵ Plin. ep. 8. 16. Terent. Phormio, 2. 162.

themselves to one another *in contubernio*, but this attachment had no legal confirmation or protection; the fruit of it was their master's, and the continuance of it depended on his will. Not only their property and their children, but their lives, were at his disposal⁶; and their servitude was the more severe, that it was domestic rather than rural⁷.

The legal price of a slave, though it varied in fact according to circumstances, was, for an ordinary servant, ten pieces (*solidi*) of gold; if above ten years of age, twenty pieces; if he had learned some trade, thirty pieces; if a writer, *notarius*, fifty; if a medical person, sixty⁸.

Liberti, or
freed-men.

Slaves were capable of acquiring their freedom, and of attaining to the rank of freed-men; some acquired it by purchase. Having certain perquisites allowed them, such as were careful were able, under humane and reasonable masters, to buy their freedom generally in six years⁹. Some acquired their freedom, by getting their name inserted, with the master's consent, in the censor's roll; some by manumission, in the presence and by the authority of the prætor, or consul; some by testament, or by the latter will of their owners; and some by letter, or by cheerful agreement in the presence of their friends¹⁰.

They still remained, however, in some degree subject, or related, to their former masters, who were now called their patrons, and whom they were bound, in case of need, to support. If they died childless and intestate, their patrons became their legal heirs.

If a master of a house was found slain in it, and the murder not discovered, all the slaves of the

⁶ Juvenal, sat. vi. 219. ⁷ Plin. xviii. 3. Cic. offic. i. 13.

⁸ Cod. lib. vi. tit. 43. lex 3. ⁹ Cic. Phil. viii. 11.

¹⁰ Instit. tit. 5.

family were liable to death. On one occasion four hundred were thus killed ¹⁰.

The *patria potestas* of the Romans, was singularly severe, and peculiar to that people. Children were not under the protection of civil law, but subject to the will, and entirely at the disposal, of their father. He might expose them when infants; when grown up, he might imprison them, scourge them, banish them, or even put them to death ¹¹.

Fathers and children.

In the community they were citizens, and entitled to all the privileges of freemen. In their father's house they were no better than slaves; they might be sold, or given away, without any legal reprehension. If thrice sold, however, they became, *ipso facto*, freed from the *patria potestas*.

All the property acquired by them was their father's; nor was any act of theirs binding, unless when in public offices, without the father's consent. This parental dominion extended to grandchildren, great grandchildren, and to children by adoption. This severity of paternal power gradually relaxed in progress of time, and especially after the introduction of Christianity ¹².

Men were marriageable at fourteen, and women at twelve years of age. The consent of both fathers was necessary. A Roman citizen was not allowed, without degradation, to marry a slave or a foreigner ¹³.

Marriage.

Marriage became legal by cohabitation, or the prescription of a year without being absent three nights; or by *confarreatio*, which was the most solemn form. This was a participation together

¹⁰ Tacit. Aunal. lib. xiv. c. 43.

¹¹ Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. c. 5. Cic. de Legib. iii. 8. Sallust. Catil. 39. Instit. tit. 9.

¹² Instit. tit. 9. Heineccii Antiq. ad Instit. tit. 9.

¹³ Tit. Liv. lib. xxxviii. c. 36.

in the presence of a priest and ten witnesses, with a form of words; of a cake made of salt, water, and flour, called *far*, and which was then offered with a sheep in sacrifice to the gods²⁴. In consequence of this ceremony, the woman became the husband's wife, submitted to his power, and shared his property. If he died childless and intestate, she inherited his fortune; if he left children, she enjoyed an equal share with them²⁵. Or, which became more common in later times, marriage was solemnised by coemption. The man and woman each delivered to the other a small piece of money, accompanied with this form of words, before witnesses, "Whether she would be the mistress of his family?" She answered, "That she would." The consequences were the same as those of the former ceremony. As her husband, he came in place of her father, with the *patria potestas*; and she, as his wife, enjoyed all the privileges of a daughter. She assumed his name, resigned to him her property, and acknowledged him as her lord. In the early times of the republic²⁶, dowries were as low as 35 *l.* sterling, 11,000 asses of brass; but in later times they rose to *decies centena sestertia*, 8071 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.*; and to *ducenties centena sestertia*, 161,458 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Incest

The marriage of an uncle and niece, or of a grandfather and granddaughter, and the nearer degrees of kindred within these, were held incestuous, and were prohibited; but first cousins, and more distant kindred, were allowed to marry²⁷.

Concubin-
age.

Concubinage was the state of a woman beneath the rank of a wife, and above that of a prostitute.

²⁴ Dionys. ii. 25. Plin. xviii. 2.

²⁵ Dionys. ii. 25. Plin. xiv. 13. Tacit. Annal. xiii. 32. Suet. Tib. 35. Heinecc. Antiq. tit. 10.

²⁶ Rom. Antiq. Heinecc.

²⁷ Instit. tit. 10.

It was unlawful for any man already married, whilst his wife was living, to have a concubine; and even in the unmarried state, it was branded by the law with circumstances of ignominy¹⁸. Polygamy was altogether prohibited¹⁹. Divorces became frequent, and for trifling causes, some time before the end of the republic²⁰.

Polygamy.
Divorce.

The adoption of children was common, either by the authority of the emperor, or in the court of the prætor²¹.

Adoption.

A father was, during his life, the natural guardian of his own children; and it was usual for him to nominate others by testament, to succeed him in that character on his death; but if he neglected it, then the nearest of kin on the father's side was not only called, but compelled by law, to undertake and faithfully to discharge this duty. They gave security, and rendered a regular account of their intromissions²². Women were considered as under perpetual tutelage²³. After the age of puberty, either males or females might chuse curators for themselves.

Tutelage.

Diminution was the loss either of personal liberty, or of public right, as of citizenship. There were several degrees of it, which were the consequences of folly, or the punishment of transgression²⁴.

Diminutio
capitis.

2. Of Things.

Original, or prior occupancy and improvement, created a right of property.

Property
constituted
by prior
occupancy;

¹⁸ Heineccii Antiq. Appendix, lib. i. c. 1. 38—42.

¹⁹ Suet. Jul. 52. Cic. de Orat. i. 40.

²⁰ Heineccii Append. lib. i. c. 1. § 45—47. Various instances and forms are enumerated.

²¹ Suet. August. 64. Instit. tit. 11.

²² Cic. pro Rosc. 6. Orat. 1. 36. Heineccii Antiq. lib. i. tit. 13.

²³ Liv. xxxix. 19.

²⁴ Instit. tit. 16. Cic. pro Mil. 36. Salsust. Cat. 37. Heinecc. Antiq. lib. i. tit. 16.

Sacred property was inalienable. The ground, for example, on which a temple stood, continued sacred after the building was in ruins.

Some things did not admit of division, and were common to all, or were public property; as navigable rivers, highways, market-places, &c.

The hunter had a right, by prior occupancy, to the game which he caught or killed; the navigator, to the uninhabited regions or islands which he discovered; and the colonist, to the land which he originally cleared and cultivated.

by war;

The capture of an enemy's property in the field of battle, or in the regular prosecution of war, was uniformly held as a just foundation of right to property.

by prescription;

The peaceable possession of moveables unclaimed for one year, and of heritables or immoveables for two years, formed the right of *usucapio*; but in later times the right of prescription was extended to ten, and even twenty years²⁵.

by accession;

There was a right of accession, as to the fruit of personal industry or genius, to the breed of cattle, and to the addition of territory obtained by the shifting of the channel of a river.

by purchase,
&c.
Life-rent,
&c.

There were various other foundations of right to property, as by purchase, donation, &c. Property was either life-rent, *usufruct*, or heritable. In the former, the subject could not be deteriorated; but on the death of the possessor, or on the expiration of his lease, it returned substantially to the general or legal proprietor²⁶.

Succeffion by inheritance.

It was no small encouragement to constant improvements, to have the assurance of transmitting them uninterrupted to posterity. Hence it was the

²⁵ Instit. lib. ij. tit. 6.

²⁶ Heineccii Antiqu. lib. ii. tit. 4. 5.

interest of mankind to secure the right of inheritance.

Legitimate children were the natural heirs of Romans; old and young, sons and daughters, inherited equally²⁷. Failing them, the *agnati*, or nearest of kin by the father's side²⁸; and failing them, those of the same *gens*, *cognati*, or *gentiles*. *Agnati* were *cognati*, kindred of the same family. *Gentiles* were *cognati*, kindred by the mother, or of the same clan or tribe, comprehending many families²⁹.

The natural succession might be regulated by testament. That which was acquired by inheritance could not be diverted altogether from the natural heir; he was entitled to a fourth. If he thought himself overburdened with legacies, he might accept of a fourth as all he would claim, and leave the rest to be divided proportionally. If the inheritance seemed loaded with debt, the heir was allowed the benefit of an inventory, or a year to deliberate³⁰. A testament was authentic and effectual by the signatures and seals of seven witnesses. A nuncupative or verbal testament was held sufficient, in certain cases, on the testimony of seven legal witnesses³¹; and it was unlawful for the writer of another's testament to mark down any thing for himself³².

By testament.

A father might, for good reasons, legally disinherit his children, or other heirs³³.

²⁷ "Neque in ea re Decemviri secuti erant jus Atticum, quod primo ordine filios, et post eos demum filias, ad hereditatem paternam admittebat." Heind. Ant. lib. iii. tit. 1.

²⁸ Instit. lib. ii. tit. 14. 19. iii. tit. 46.

²⁹ Heineccii Antiq. lib. iii. tit. 2.

³⁰ Id. ad Instit. tit. 19.

³¹ Ibid. lib. ii. tit. 9.

³² Suet. Nero, 17.

³³ The reasons are enumerated Instit. lib. ii. tit. 13. and by Heineccius.

Legacies.

Legacies were donations by the deceased, left to be substantiated by his heir, and were regulated according to their nature by certain forms³⁴.

Trusts.

A man sometimes left his whole fortune, and sometimes a part of it, to certain persons in trust, for the benefit of others³⁵.

Codicils.

Codicils were additions made to a will, expressed usually in the form of a letter to the heir. No set form, however, was regarded, provided only they were confirmed by a testament³⁶.

3. Of Actions.

Different kinds of obligations.

A man was bound, by the authority of his own conscience only, to fulfil the duties of moral obligation, where there was no agreement legally expressed or understood; but wherever there was any positive engagement, stipulated benefit, or material injury, human law might be interposed, and an *action* for redress commence before a court of justice.

An engagement might be formed by words, as when a promise was given; by writing, as by a deed of sale; or by stipulation, as when a symbol was exchanged or used; or by actual delivery, as when one thing was substantially given in the faith of receiving an equivalent. It is unnecessary to trace these different kinds of obligations, and their consequent actions, through all their varieties. We may generally observe, that they were duly and strictly regulated by the Roman law³⁷.

Usury, and legal interest.

Usury was early prevalent and oppressive among the Romans³⁸. Sixty, forty-eight, and twenty-

³⁴ Instit. lib. ii. tit. 20. ³⁵ Hein. Antiq. lib. ii. tit. 23, 24.
³⁶ Plin. Epist. ii. 16. Instit. lib. ii. tit. 25.
³⁷ Instit. lib. iii. tit. 14. et sequentia,
³⁸ Liv. lib. viii. c. 28.

four *per cent.* were sometimes exacted; twelve *per cent.* came to be legal interest under the first emperors; but eight, six, four, &c. were also common, according to the nature of the risk or security³⁹.

The design of criminal law is to correct the individual, and to maintain the good order and security of society. If the individual be incorrigible, or society shall appear insecure while he remains in it, there is a necessity for thrusting him out of it, by perpetual imprisonment, by exile, or by death. In executing these punishments, respect must be had to the influence of example, to the sufficiency of the executive power, and to the general state and character of the nation. A fine is a severe punishment among a poor people; imprisonment is most awful to those who are fond of liberty; banishment seems no hardship to those to whom any country almost is preferable to their own; death itself loses much of its effect and terror when it is too frequently employed as a punishment.

Criminal
law.

Fines were not very frequent among the Romans. They were imposed on senators, who would not approve on oath of the laws enacted by the people; on such as neglected or violated the authority of the magistrates; on candidates, for bribery; on persons guilty of illicit amours, &c. Two oxen; or thirty sheep, were about the medium penalty; an ox was valued at a hundred asses⁴⁰, and a sheep at ten⁴¹. By the twelve tables, smaller injuries were punished with a fine of twenty-five asses; injury to the loss of a limb was punished by retaliation, or by a fine of three hundred asses.

Fines.

³⁹ Heinec. Antiq. lib. iii. tit. 15. 19.

⁴⁰ An As, originally an unit or pound, divided into twelve parts, was not fully one penny; a Sestertius was double, or nearly two-pence; a Denarius, or Drachma, seven-pence three farthings; and a Solidus, or Aureus, sixteen shillings one penny three farthings sterling.

⁴¹ Festus in peculatus.

The

The *lex Aufidia*, A. U. 692, contained the following clause: "That if a candidate promised money to a tribe, and failed to pay it, he should be excused; but if he paid, he should be fined in the sum of 3000 sesterii, (about 24*l.* sterling,) to every tribe, yearly, as long as he lived."

The kidnapping, or stealing of slaves, was punished by a fine; but though severe, it was found ineffectual, and was changed into banishment to the mines.

For the same reason, it was found necessary to change the fines imposed on account of other trespasses, into severer punishments; for example, the punishment of illicit amours, *de nefando venere*, was made capital⁴².

Interdiction,
exile,
&c.

Interdiction of fire and water, servitude and banishment, were common punishments. The punishment of treason was public crucifixion; an incendiary was burnt alive; a parricide was inclosed in a sack with a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey, and so drowned⁴³; a perjured witness was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock.

Debtors.

An insolvent debtor was sold, or if any of the creditors insisted on it, his body was divided among them. It is thought that the latter punishment, however, was seldom inflicted⁴⁴.

Judges.

The Roman judges were anciently their kings, then the consuls, afterwards the prætors, and their assessors, chosen annually by the people. An appeal was competent in certain cases to the people, and in later times to the emperor; and all public questions were ultimately judged, under the republic, and determined by the people.

⁴² Suet. Domit. 8.

⁴³ Heineccii ad Instit. lib. iv. tit. 18. Id. Antiq. lib. iv. tit. 18.

⁴⁴ Ibid. lib. iii. tit. 30.

The

The private prosecutor himself summoned the defender, or pannel, to the court; and by touching any fellow-citizen on the ear, claimed and obtained assistance when necessary for apprehending him. He might apprehend him any where but in his own house; that was the temple of his household gods, and the only secure asylum of the family. On being sifted before the court, security or bail was taken for his appearance on the day fixed for his trial. If he failed to appear on that day, he was held confessed as guilty, he lost his cause, and his goods were confiscated, or adjudged to the prosecutor⁴⁵.

Sammohs.

II. *Of the Salic Law.*

The Salic Law appears to have been founded on the immemorial customs of the Salic nation. Various conjectures have been formed respecting the name of it; and the most probable is, that it is derived from the river *Sala*, where they principally resided. The Salii were the chief tribe of the confederacy who assumed, or to whom the Romans gave, the name of Franks, as peculiarly zealous assertors of their liberty and independence.⁴⁶

Origin of
the Salic
Law.

After the conversion and baptism of Clovis, he made such alterations on the Salic Law as seemed necessary for adapting it to the state of the nation, in consequence both of their settlement in Gaul, and of their submission to the Christian religion. Childbert, Clotaire, Theodoric, Dagobert, and Charlemagne, made similar adaptations, or rather such additions as the progress of time and the change of circumstances seemed to require.

⁴⁵ Heineccii Antiq. lib. iv. tit. 6.

⁴⁶ Notas Jo. Georgii Eccardi ad Prologum Leg. Franc. Salic. Pref. Historique du P. Daniel. Abbe du Bos.

Prologue
to it.

The Prologue is not very long; it may be satisfactory to see it at full length.

“ Gens Francorum inclyta, auctore Deo condita, fortis in armis, firma pacis fœdere, profunda in consilio, corpore nobilis, et incolumis, candore, et forma egregia, audax, velox, et aspera, nuper ad Catholicam fidem conversa, immunis ab hæresi, dum adhuc tenerentur barbarie, inspirante Deo, inquirens scientiæ clavem, juxta morem suorum qualitatum, desiderans justitiam, custodiens pietatem, dictaverunt Salicam legem proceres ipsius gentis, qui tunc temporis apud eandem erant rectores. Sunt autem electi de pluribus viri quatuor, his nominibus, Wisogast, Bodogast, Salogast, et Windogast, in locis quibus nomen Salagheve, Bodogheve, et Windogheve: Qui per tres mallos convenientes, omnes causarum origines solícite discurrendo, tractantes de singulis, judicium decreverunt hoc modo. At ubi, Deo favente, Chlodovæus comatus, et pulcher, et inclytus Rex Francorum, primus recepit Catholicum baptismum, quicquid minus in pacto habebatur idoneum, per præcelsos reges Chlodovæum, et Childebertum, et Clotarium, fuit lucidius emendatum, et procuratum decretum hoc. Vivat qui Francos diligit Christus; eorum regnum custodiat, et rectores de lumine suæ gratiæ repleat, exercitum protegat, fidei monumenta tribuat, pacis gaudia et felicitatem, tempora dominantium Dominus Christus Jesus pietate conducat. Hæc est enim gens quæ fortis dum esset, et robore valida, Romanorum jugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excussit pugnando; atque post agnitionem baptismi, sanctorum martyrum corpora quæ Romani igne cremaverunt, vel ferro trucidaverunt, truncaverunt, aut bestiis la-

“ ceranda

“ceranda projecerunt, sumptuose, auro et lapidibus pretiosis exornavit.”

The substance of the above is, That the confederate Franks, desirous of cultivating and maintaining righteousness and peace, elected and appointed four men, whose names seem to have a reference to the tribes or districts of the country whence they were chosen, for the purpose of framing and digesting their laws; that the Salic Code was the result of their deliberations; and that it was afterwards revived and amended by the Merovingian kings in Gaul.

The Law is written in bad Latin, but the substance of each article is also expressed, in Eccard's edition of it, in old German words; for example, title 2. law 1. is t. 2. l. 1. “Si quis porcellum lactantem furaverit, de rhanne prima, aut mediana, et ei fuerit approbatum, MALBERG. RHANNECALA. LERECHALA. hoc est unum AHELEPTE cxx denariis qui faciunt iii solidi. culpabilis judicetur, excepto capitale, et delatura;” *i. e.* If any one shall steal a suckling pig of the first or middle litter, and it shall be proved against him, he shall be condemned to pay 120 den. which make three solidi, besides returning the subject, or its value, and paying all expences.

Eccard, in his notes on the Salic Law, tit. 1. calculates, that one Roman denarius was worth five of those of the Franks; or that a Roman sestertertius and a Frank denarius were nearly of the same value; viz. about a fifth of a drachma of silver; forty denarii of silver passed for a solidus of gold. So that laying aside fractions, and comparing Salic money with Roman, a Frank denarius was worth nearly about two pence sterling, and a solidus about six shillings and eight pence.

Having

Having premised these things, we shall now consider the Salic Laws, and endeavour to arrange the observations to be made on them, in the same order with those on the Roman Law.

1. *Of Persons.*

Ranks.

The orders of men were the same among the Franks, as among the Romans. The distinction of freemen, freedmen, and slaves, is observed among them, by both Cæsar and Tacitus. Their very name is said to be derived from their zeal for liberty and independence⁴⁷. A Frank valued himself at double the value of a Gaul or Roman. The fine for robbing a Frank was sixty-two solidi; for a Roman or Gaul, thirty solidi.

Freemen.

Freedmen.]

Among the ancient Germans, as among the Romans, a freedman was little above the rank of a slave⁴⁸; and they obtained their freedom in a manner almost entirely similar, by favour, purchase, or testament⁴⁹.

Slaves.

Slaves were reduced to the state of servitude, by war, by misfortune, by debt, or by gaming. When the ancient Germans had lost every thing besides, such was their ardor for play, that they staked their personal liberty on the last throw of the dice⁵⁰.

The slaves of the Germans were generally attached to the soil, and only changed their master along with it. Their state was by no means so

⁴⁷ "Tradunt enim, qui res gestas scribunt, ob eam rem Francos dici, quod sint, vel Romano tributo, Franci, hoc est liberi, vel quod verius est, feroces non ea quidem ferocitate, quam furit insolens Barbaries, sed animi virtute clarissimi, quam amor libertatis ingenuis pectoribus ingenerat." Ducange Glossar. ad loc. Franc.

⁴⁸ Tacit. de morib. Germ. 25. Salic Law, tit. 30.

⁴⁹ "Ingoberga Regina, Chariberti quondam relicta, migravit a seculo, multoque per chartulas liberos derelinquens, septuagesimo vitæ anno relinquens filiam unicam." Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 26.

⁵⁰ Tacit. de morib. Germ. 24.

abject as that of the Roman slaves, who were employed chiefly in domestic services. Every man enjoyed his own house and family, his particular field or portion of the harvest, his cattle, and his clothes. He served his master, and his wife and children served him. The whole family, however, if born in a state of servitude, were the master's. They were seldom beat, and might be slain in passion, but not through severity of discipline³¹.

Tacitus seems to contrast with the practice of the Romans in his time, that the Germans did not prescribe to themselves any certain number of children. Children are the strength and glory of their parents in ruder times. It is only when luxury and pride create and demand immoderate expence in living, that men become afraid to marry, or dread the intolerable burden of a numerous offspring.

The same author seems to contrast the humanity of the Franks with the severity of the Roman paternal power, observing that they held it criminal to kill any near relation³².

The ancient Germans were strictly virtuous in the marriage relation. Every man was content with one wife; a very few had more, not however from a desire of sexual gratification, but as a token of superior rank. Marriage.

The consent of parents was held necessary to marriage; they selected, inspected, and approved the marriage presents, or portion. The chief portion was given by the bridegroom to the bride. It consisted in cattle, and useful furniture; and her present to him consisted in armour. They were symbolical, and they were profitable. Such things were the wealth and valuable property of those times. She gave him armour to defend her; and

³¹ Tacit. de morib. Germ. 24, 25.

³² Id. ibid. 19.

he entrusted her with property, which she was bound to transmit to their posterity⁵².

Adultery.

Adultery seldom occurred; but when it did, it was severely punished. Sympathy and fashion had no influence to mitigate the horror of the crime, or the rigour of the punishment.

Divorce.

There was no tediousness of process, nor mild forms of divorce and dismissal. The criminal being turned out with violence, and in the presence of her nearest relations, was chased naked over all the town, or village, with dishevelled hair, and beat by her injured husband without mercy. She was never able, by youth, riches, or beauty, to procure another husband. Nor did the man guilty with her, escape with impunity; he was fined in two hundred solidi⁵⁴.

Chastity.

Chastity, in general, was strictly guarded by severe penalties⁵⁵.

Incest.

The parties in an incestuous marriage were immediately separated; and if there were any children, they were declared and held infamous⁵⁶. By a law of Clotaire, incest with a father's wife was punished with death⁵⁷.

The forbidden degrees were, a mother, sister, or sister-in-law, a niece, a cousin-german, and an aunt⁵⁸.

Tutelage.

The nearest of kin were the natural guardians of minors. There does not appear to be any special law on the subject before the reign of Charlemagne,

⁵² Tacit. de morib. Germ. 18.

⁵⁴ Sal. Law, tit. 15. Tacit. de mor. Germ. 19.

⁵⁵ Salic. Leg. tit. 14. & 29. ⁵⁶ Ibid. tit. 14. l. 12.

⁵⁷ Lex Sal. Carol. emend. edit. Geo. Eccard. p. 161.

⁵⁸ Capitula, edit. Eccardi. p. 182, 183, 185.

By the Ripuary Law, children are declared capable of acting for themselves at the age of fifteen. The two laws are so nearly the same, that this may be reckoned the age of majority by the Salic.

when

when he recommends it to the courts of justice to pay a marked attention to widows and orphans.

In particular cases, courts of justice seem to have been requested to interpose their authority and protection. Charlemagne himself constituted the states of the kingdom the guardians of his children's property.

2. Of Things.

Property was held, among the Franks as among the Romans, by immemorial possession, by the will of the nation expressed or understood in their annual assembly, by inheritance, by gift, by purchase, or by prescription.

When held by immemorial possession, it was *proprium*, or independent; when by the will of the nation, it was allodial property. In the case of purchase, the title depended on the terms of agreement, and more generally the tenure was allodial. Prescription was declared by the decree of Childebert A. D. 595, to take place after ten years unchallenged possession; but, in the case of orphans, twenty years were requisite to constitute that title⁵⁹.

A gift, or benefice, implied various obligations; and though immediate property, it was not independent, nor was it at first generally considered to be permanent.

The right of inheritance was sufficiently understood by the ancient Germans. Parents considered themselves bound, says Tacitus, to transmit their property inviolate to their posterity; and failing children, brothers, paternal uncles, and cousins succeeded⁶⁰.

The order of succession was accordingly, children, or if none, parents if still alive, brothers and

⁵⁹ Lex Sal. a Carol. emend.

⁶⁰ Tacit. de Morib. Germ. 18. 20.

sisters equally, paternal uncles, cousins-german, the mother's sister, the father's sister, after which followed the nearest of kin on the father's side. Females, however, were declared incapable of inheriting Salic or allodial property, "*ne lancea transfertur in fenum*;" till after several generations, when, if males were still deficient, the subject was to be divided equally among all the kindred, "*non per stirpes sed per capita*."⁶¹

Equal share
of children.

From the general tenor of the Salic law, and from the manner of royal succession, of which we have abundance of examples, it appears, that the children of a family inherited by equal portions, and that they often decided their accession to their shares respectively by lot. Illegitimate children were not excluded.

Testaments.

Among the ancient Germans, formal testaments were unknown⁶²: yet they seem so natural and reasonable a mode of conveying property, that the Franks must have readily and early adopted the practice, after they had intercourse with the Romans. They seem to have begun with nuncupative or verbal testaments, accompanied with symbols, and authenticated by witnesses⁶³. By this kind of deeds, Gontran satisfied his nephew that he was to be his heir. Written testaments are scarcely to be found before the 9th century: Charlemagne is said to have written four; one of them is preserved by Eginhart⁶⁴. It was done in presence of his friends and ministers, three years before his death: it was subscribed by eleven bishops, four abbots, and fifteen counts; and it was duly executed by his son Lewis, after his death.

⁶¹ Salic. Leg. tit. 62.

⁶² Tacit. de Morib. Germ. 20.

⁶³ Salic. Leg. tit. 49.

⁶⁴ In Vit. Carol. Mag. c. 33.

By

By the Salic law, a man was allowed to alienate, Family alienation. himself from his family, and from all its privileges. He sifted himself before the proper court or judge; four alder rods were broken over his head into four parts; these were scattered in the court, while it was proclaimed that he was hereby loosed from all relation to his family: in consequence of which he was not liable to their debts, nor entitled to heritage from any part of the family; nor could any of them claim any share of his inheritance at his death⁶⁵.

If no heir appeared to claim the property of the deceased, it fell to the king, or to the public treasury⁶⁶.

3. Of Actions.

Promises given, and benefits conferred, without a reciprocal intention of obligation expressed and understood with sufficient clearness and publicity, are subjects rather of morals than of law.

The Germans entertained peculiarly high notions of honour. They adhered to their engagements even the length of going into voluntary and abject slavery: they were fond of giving and receiving presents, but they attached to them no idea of obligation. They were unacquainted with usury, and with lending on interest⁶⁷.

Both these, however, after several centuries, came to be known in France. One of the Capitularies of Charlemagne, after explaining what interest is, declares it to be just, when no more is required than was promised; another of them declares it to be usury, when more is demanded than was stipulated. The ordinary interest then seems to have been probably as high as forty per cent. The usurer

Interest and usury.

⁶⁵ Tit. 63.

⁶⁶ Tit. 65.

⁶⁷ Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 24. 26.

demanding something besides, as a cask of wine, or a bag of corn⁶⁸.

He who would not restore what he had borrowed, and he who would not pay his just debts after they were formally demanded, was fined nine solidi; and if he still refused, fifteen solidi more were to be imposed on him. A trustee who would not restore his trust, was fined fifteen solidi⁶⁹.

As the penalties for injuries, and the punishment even of crimes, consisted chiefly in fines, it may be curious and interesting to know and compare the various trespasses and penalties.

Fines for
stealing.

	Solidi.
The fine for stealing generally, was	15
Any thing under lock and key,	45
A hog,	7
A domestic or milch cow,	35
A two-year old sheep,	3
Two or three goats,	3
A horse,	35
A war-horse,	60
A pointer dog trained,	45
A shepherd's dog,	3
A hawk,	3
A cock or hen, goose, &c.	3
A hive of bees,	15
A fruit-tree,	15

⁶⁸ "Ufura est, ubi amplius requiritur quam datur. Verbi gratia, si dederis solidum, et amplius requiseris: vel si dederis modium vini, frumenti, et iterum super aliud exegeris." Capitul. lib. i. l. 125.

⁶⁹ Tit. 55. 72. A fourth of the whole fine, called the *fredum*, went to the king; the remainder was usually paid to the nearest of kin. A murder or two in a family sometimes enriched it. "You are under great obligations to me," said Sichaïre to Cramisfinde, "for killing your friends: it has re-stored your house to opulence."

The

	Solidi,	
The fine for stealing a slave,	35	
A freeman,	200	
A ship or boat,	15	
Corn from a mill,	15	
Mill instruments,	45	
Any thing by means of a horse and cart,	45	
The fine for the robbery of a Frank, was	62½	Fines for robbery;
Of a Gaul or Roman,	30	
For obstructing the highway,	45	
For attacking a traveller on public business,	100 to 200	
The fine for a rape, was	62½	rape;
If on a betrothed or married woman,	200	
The fine for stripping a dead body,	62½	stripping the dead;
If after burial,	100	
The fine for setting fire to a house, (besides paying the value consumed,)	62½	incendiarics;
To each of the dwellers, if they escaped,	100	
To their relations, for each of them burnt,	200	
For burning a temple, or church,	200	
The fine for an assault varied according to the injury, the highest	45	assaults, &c.
With an intention to murder,	62½	
For giving poisonous herbs designedly,	200	
For other magical crimes,	62½	
For an unjust accusation before the king,	62½	
If it might have inferred death,	200	
For wounding or maiming a woman,	45	
For cutting off a leg, arm, nose, tongue, &c. various, say to	200	
The fine for killing a child under twelve years of age,	600	murder;
For beating a woman with child till she die,	700	
Nor with child, but still capable of child-bearing,	600	
Past child-bearing,	200	

		Solidi.
	The fine for killing a girl free born,	200
	A slave,	35
	A Roman or Gaul,	100
	A freeman,	200
	By thrusting him into a well,	600
	A count or duke,	600
	If one of the king's retinue,	1800
	An ordinary person, being a guest,	600
	A subdeacon,	300
	A deacon,	400
	A presbyter, or parish priest,	600
	A bishop or abbot,	900
	An ordinary monk,	400
hired assassins;	The fine for hiring a man to steal or kill,	100
	For accepting hire for it,	62½
	For being employed to hire one,	62½
ignominious shaving of the head;	The fine for shaving the head of a free-born lad, being the token of servitude and of monachism, without consent of his parents,	62½
	Of a girl,	45
scandals;	The fine for fornication with a slave,	15
	With a free woman,	45
	For adultery,	200
	For defamation, various, the highest	187
	For bearing false witness,	15
fences and fields;	The fine for injuring fences and fields, highest	62½
	For migrating, or sitting without leave,	45
officers in courts of justice;	The fine for disobeying a summons,	15
	For a rachimburg's refusing judgment,	15
	For contravening his judgment,	600
	For his judging contrary to law,	600
for deserting a betrothed maid;	The fine for voluntarily and unreasonably deserting a young woman after betrothing her,	62½
for counter-acting public punishments;	For taking a living criminal from the cross, or other place of punishment,	200
	The	

	Solidi.	
The fine for giving bread, or shewing any other hospitality, to a person interdicted, or put out of the king's protection,	15	
The fine for emancipating another person's <i>lidus</i> , that is, one free-born, but now in servitude ⁷⁰ ,	100	for officious emancipation.
If the ordinary slave of another,	25	

Banishment was an occasional, but not a frequent punishment; and in that early period and state of society, could not be expected to be effectual.

Castration of slaves was not uncommon as a punishment, not merely for fornication, &c. but for theft, and other ordinary transgressions ⁷¹.

Scourging was also a frequent punishment, to the amount of one hundred stripes, or upwards; but one hundred stripes might be commuted for three solidi ⁷¹.

Diminutio capitis, to speak in the style of the Roman law, or degradation of rank, followed on a freeman marrying a slave: he fell into the same rank with her; yet their children, if they had any, were generally exempted ⁷².

The cross was also an instrument of punishment, till zeal for Christianity made it seem too honourable for ordinary criminals. It was prohibited by Charlemagne ⁷³.

Childebert and Clotaire, finding the ancient legal compensations by fines insufficient to prevent

⁷⁰ It appears from the formulas, that by fisting a slave before the king, and by procuring the king to strike a piece of money out of his hand, you secured his freedom. He might be still subject to his former master, not now as a slave, but as a freed-man. Form. Veteres, edit. a Geo. Eccard. No. 4.

⁷¹ Tit. 13.

⁷² Tit. 14. 29. 43. and Marculfi Formul. lib. ii. c. 29.

⁷³ Capitul. lib. i.

Death.

thefts, robberies, &c. enacted, A.D. 593-5, that every one who should be found guilty of such crimes should suffer death.

Composition
for l. fe.

When a man was condemned to die, he was in some cases allowed to make a composition for his life with those whom he had injured. In that case the legal composition was, for a Frank, 200 solidi; a rachimburg, or judge, 600 solidi; a count or duke, or presbyter, 600 solidi; &c. as per list, p. 294. The whole fine of composition went to the injured party, but more generally a third was paid to the judge, and the other two thirds, as a *fredum*, to the king⁷³.

From this view of the Salic law, it seems to be of great antiquity. The people to whom it is adapted must however have been somewhat settled, and even considerably engaged in pasture and agriculture. They were neither in a very rude state of society, nor subject to a regular, civilised, and vigorous government. Their poverty, and the scarcity of money, rendered fines generally a sufficient punishment. Their love of freedom, and ignorance of the best means of enjoying it, prevented their regular and steady subordination under lawful authority. It is probable that it might have been in most cases difficult to punish any one capitally, and therefore they were content with legal fines, even for murder⁷⁴. As relations and descendants considered themselves bound to avenge their unsettled family quarrels, it became an object of law and government to terminate them as soon as possible, by such means as were practicable; and therefore every kind of injury almost is compensated by a fine; till in the progress of society, when fines became ineffectual, crimes more fre-

⁷³ Tit. 65.⁷⁴ Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 21.

quent,

quent, and the executive government more powerful, then fines were changed into severer modes of punishment.

III. *Of the Ripuary Law.*

The Ripuarii, comprehended, like the Salii, under the general name of Franks, derived their name (*a Ripis*) from the banks of the Rhine which they occupied. Their laws, which are very little different from those of the Salii that we have just now considered, show that their origin, situation, and state of society, were almost the same. Name.

They were similar in regard to their ranks, or orders of men. Their law is rather more particular with respect to the manner of manumitting slaves than the Salic, and is, on the whole, more favourable to that class of men ⁷⁵. Orders of men.

It settles also more attentively the age and rights of minors. Children, both males and females, being orphans, are declared incapable of being prosecuted, or of raising any prosecution before a court of law, till the age of fifteen, when they may either act for themselves, or chuse curators ⁷⁶. Children.

It is also more favourable to the wife, than either the Roman or Salic law. It declares the marriage portion, *morgangeba*, given by the husband to the wife next morning after consummation, to be hers unalienably. But if, on the husband's death, no writing appeared, stating the extent and particulars of that portion, then she was entitled to receive 50 solidi as her portion, and a third part more of all that she and her late husband had earned by their industry, or care, since their marriage ⁷⁷. Marriage portion.

⁷⁵ Tit. 57. 58.

⁷⁶ Tit. 81.

⁷⁷ Tit. 37.

Written
deeds.

It appears that written deeds, as contracts, testaments, &c. were more frequent among them than among the Salii.

Adoption.

Adoption itself prevailed among them, and was regulated and confirmed by writing, as well as by the *fesluca*, or symbol⁷⁸.

Sales.

Sales of large property were also made by writing; but if the subject was small, it was held legal before six, or if very small, before three witnesses⁷⁹. In the case of purchasing a large property, it was done in the presence of twelve boys, besides the witnesses, to each of whom the purchaser gave a blow, and a pinch on the ear, to secure remembrance of the sale.

Testament.

A testament was made and confirmed in the king's court, in that of the count of the district, or of any other legal judge⁸⁰.

Fines.

The fines for injuries and crimes vary in particular cases, but, on the whole, they resemble those of the Salic Law.

Exculpation.

Exculpation appears generally admissible, by means of six witnesses swearing, along with the person himself, to his innocence; but in cases more heinous, as in a charge of having murdered royal or ecclesiastical persons, twelve such witnesses were requisite⁸¹.

Composition.

The ordinary or legal composition for a man's life, is particularly stated, in the Ripuarian Law, as payable either in cattle and goods, or money. The cattle and goods, with their value, are enumerated: and the solidum in this case, instead of forty, is rated at only twelve denarii, which is said to be its ancient value⁸².

⁷⁸ Tit. 48.⁷⁹ Tit. 59, 60.⁸⁰ Capitul. 48. ad Ann. 803.⁸¹ Tit. 2. 6. 8, 9, 19. &c.⁸² Tit. 36.

From the Capitularies of Charlemagne annexed to the Ripuary laws, A. D. 803, it seems as if a part of the Franks continued to live then under the Ripuary laws, probably, still in or near their ancient territories on the Rhine.

IV. *Law of the Visigoths.*

The Visigoths, whose laws we are next to review, were a part of that great people who flowed like a tide, in large and successive streams, from the north, spread towards the Euxine sea, and invaded and conquered the western empire. Their origin is involved in much obscurity. They are said in general to have proceeded from the island of Scandinavia. Sweden, in many respects, answers to the account, imperfect as it is, which we have of their native country. But it seems unnecessary to limit so great a body of people to the north of the Baltic: various causes might unite the tribes of both the northern and southern shores in a general confederacy to invade a more southern climate, and a more fertile country.

The laws of the Visigoths were composed by Euric, one of their kings, or under his government and direction, about A. D. 504. Till that time they are said to have had no written laws, and were regulated and governed by their immemorial customs. "*Antea tantum moribus et consuetudine tenebantur.*" Isidor. era 504.—From the law itself it appears, that the code of Euric was improved and augmented by several of his successors⁸³.

In this its improved state, it declares intolerance, with some exceptions, of the laws of other nations in any court of the kingdom, under a penalty of

⁸³ Tit. 1. l. 1. 2. 5. 7. 9. 13. edit. Lindenbrog.

thirty pounds of gold⁸⁴; which is by far a higher fine than any imposed by the laws of the other nations, and shews them to have been more wealthy.

The laws of the Visigoths want the simplicity and brevity of the Salic and Ripuary Laws. They indulge in considerable and frequent discussions: the style itself is diffuse, and abounds with such allusions and phrases as might proceed from the pen of one well acquainted with the Roman law, and highly favourable to a particular system of Christianity⁸⁵.

1. *Of Persons.*

Their orders of men were similar to those whose laws we have already reviewed; but their slaves had acquired more privileges and importance. It was competent for them to sue or be sued in a court, not merely in managing their masters' business, but their own, and not only against other slaves, but against freemen⁸⁶. A slave, however, was not allowed to act in any court on the mandate of a stranger; but he might be the agent of the church, of the poor, or of the state. His testimony was to be refused, only when opposed to the interest of his master. When a freeman and a slave were guilty together of the same transgression, as of theft, the law made little or no difference in either the nature or degree of their punishment. They were to be chastised by fine or stripes alike; or, if their crime was capital, both were equally to suffer death⁸⁷.

Slaves.

Slaves were so far under the protection of the state, and exempted from tyranny and cruelty, that

⁸⁴ Reckoning 75 solidi to a pound of gold, 30 lbs. = 2250 solidi: suppose each 16l. 13s. 4d.

⁸⁵ Lib. ii. tit. 1. l. 11.

⁸⁵ Lib. ii. tit. 2. l. 9.

⁸⁷ Lib. vii. tit. 2. l. 4.

the master who killed any of his own, was fined in a pound of gold, and declared infamous for ever; so that he could never become a witness in any cause: and he who killed the slave of another, was not only obliged to give two slaves as good to his master for him, but was condemned to perpetual exile⁸⁸. The dismemberment, that is the cutting off the hand, nose, ears, or other member, of a slave, by his master, was punished with three years' banishment from the territory or diocese to which he belonged⁸⁹. The children of slaves did not follow the condition of the mother only, but that also of the father, provided that, when the father belonged to a different master, they or their value were to be equally divided betwixt the two masters of the father and mother: and if there should be but one child, its value at twelve years of age was to be equally divided betwixt them; that is, a half was payable to the master with whom the child did not reside.

Parents were prohibited from selling, gifting, or pledging their children: and he who accepted, forfeited the price, or value, which he had given for them. Parents and children.

Children were capable of disposing, by latter-will or otherwise, of their own property, at fourteen years of age.

The consent of the father was necessary to the marriage of either a son or daughter: if the father was dead, then that of the mother was requisite; and if the mother was also deceased, then brethren being of age; and failing them, cousins being of age; failing whom, uncles, &c. It was unlawful for brothers, &c. to withhold their sisters' portion Marriage.

⁸⁸ Lib. vi. tit. 5. l. 12.

⁸⁹ Ibid. l. 13.

unreasonably, or on pretence of not having obtained their consent to marry⁹⁰.

The consent of the count of the district was necessary, in order to the marriage of a Roman with a Goth, or of a Goth with a Roman⁹¹.

The ring, the symbol of espousals, having been given and accepted before witnesses, it was unlawful for either party to retract, provided their ages were not very unequal⁹². The dowry granted to the bride by the father-in-law, or, if he was dead, by his heir, her husband, was not to exceed a tenth part of his fortune, exclusive of ten young male and as many female slaves, and thirty horses; or in ornamental drefs, furniture, &c. to the amount of a thousand solidi. This dowry was to be entirely at her own disposal; only if she died intestate, it was to return to the husband and his heirs⁹³.

2. *Of Things.*

Succession.

With respect to property and inheritance, it was regulated, that whatever came by succession, should continue to descend in like manner; but whatever was otherwise acquired, might be disposed of by the proprietor at discretion.

Brethren and sisters were the legal heirs of their parents, and that by equal portions: equality of succession always took place among heirs in the same degree of propinquity.

A wife was heir to her husband only failing his own blood relations to the seventh degree. And the same rule was applied to his succession to her; that is, only if she had no blood relations to the seventh degree.

On the decease of her husband, the mother was entitled to share equally with her children during

⁹⁰ Lib. iii. tit. 1. l. 7, 8. and tit. 2. l. 8.

⁹¹ Lib. iii. tit. 1. l. 1.

⁹² Lib. iii. tit. 1. leg. 3, 4.

⁹³ Ibid.

her

her life and non-marriage ; but if she died, or married again, her share was distributed among her children equally.

If a father on the decease of his wife chose to marry again, it was necessary for him to make up an inventory of the goods and property belonging to his children, which, whether he married or not, they were entitled to claim, on being arrived at full twenty years of age : till then he was entitled to administer for them ; but if he declined this, then the judge of the district appointed a tutor to them, of the nearest of kin on the mother's side,⁹⁴.

3. Of Actions.

Three siliquæ for a solidum *per annum*, was the regulated interest ; but for usury, as it is called by the law, a ninth solidum for eight solidi *per annum* might be demanded. And for the *ipsa corpora*, as corn, wine, &c. a third ; that is, he who lent two bushels of corn, on receiving these back, got a third more for the loan⁹⁵.

Interest.

Usury.

Thirty years was the legal period for prescription in general : some cases, as of fugitive slaves, extended to fifty years⁹⁶.

Prescription.

The art of medicine and surgery was known in the law of the Visigoths ; but it seems to have been as much suspected and feared as encouraged. If a surgeon let blood of a free woman, without the concurrence and presence of her father, husband, or nearest relations, or, in case of necessity, of her nearest respectable neighbours, he was liable to a fine of ten solidi.

Medicine.

He was not allowed to enter a prison, in order to visit the sick, without a public officer attending him.

⁹⁴ Lib. iv. tit. 2. l. 13, 14.

⁹⁵ Lib. v. tit. 5. l. 8, 9. Three siliquæ make an obolus, two oboli make a scruple, three scruples a drachma, twenty-four drachmas make a denarius, and forty denarii make a solidum. Glossar. Lindenbrogii ad voc.

⁹⁶ Lib. x. tit. 2. l. 1, 2, 3.

He was required to make an agreement, and to find security for performance, before he undertook the cure of a disease. If the patient died, he got nothing; if he cured, he got his reward, five solidi for example. But if in letting blood the patient died, he had to pay one hundred solidi. He got two hundred solidi for teaching another the art of medicine ⁹⁷.

Merchan-
dise.

If a foreign merchant ventured to export a labourer, or workman, being a Goth, he was subject to a fine of a pound of gold, and received besides two hundred lashes.

If he even employed a Visigoth as a hireling in his service, he paid a tax of three solidi a year, besides the wages agreed on ⁹⁸.

Forgery.

A forgery of any kind subjected the author or publisher of it to a fine of the fourth part of his goods: if his property, however, was of less value than the amount of the injury committed, then he, and what goods he had, became the property of the person injured; and he was farther subjected to an hundred lashes, whether he was able to pay the fine, or reduced to a state of servitude ⁹⁹.

Abortion.

To give any potion or medicine for procuring abortion, subjected the giver to death, and the receiver, if a slave, to two hundred lashes; and if a free woman, to the loss of her rank and freedom ¹⁰⁰.

Military of-
ficers.

The law for enforcing military service, which was severe, shews us what were the ranks of the different officers of the army. Under the dukes, counts, and *gardengi* (probably the same as marquises), were, the *thiupbadi*, a general officer and judge, accountable for those under him; the *mille-*

⁹⁷ Lib. xi. tit. 1. l. 1-8.

⁹⁹ Ibid. tit. 3. l. 3.

⁹⁸ Lib. vii. tit. 5. l. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Lib. vi. tit. 3.

narii, or officers over a thousand men; the *quingentarii*, or officers over five hundred; the *centenarii*, or officers over one hundred; and the *decani*, or officers over ten. If a *thiuphad*, being bribed, allowed a man in good health to retire from the army, he was obliged to pay ninefold the amount of that bribe to the count of the territory or city to which he belonged; or, if he received no bribe, he was fined in twenty solidi; a *quingentarius* in fifteen solidi; a *centenarius* in ten solidi; a *decanus* in five solidi¹⁰¹. For cowardice, or desertion, the penalty was death.

No one, however, was answerable for another, in either civil or military trespasses; a father for a son, nor a brother, nor a neighbour, for the other¹⁰².

No one answerable for another.

Even pannels were protected by laws. To strike or injure a pannel unnecessarily, or unreasonably, was punished with a hundred lashes; or if by a slave, with two hundred¹⁰³.

Even pannels protected.

Judges were required, under severe penalties, to be just, but rather to lean to the side of mercy; and it was declared to be the prerogative of the prince, occasionally, as he should see cause, to extend mercy to the guilty¹⁰⁴.

Royal mercy.

Agents, pleaders, or advocates, were common in the courts of justice, and were admitted by producing their mandate to the judge.

Agents.

No near relations were allowed to bear witness in the cause of their friend, nor any person under fourteen years of age¹⁰⁵.

Witnesses.

Royal and noble persons were not to be examined by torture, nor even men of inferior rank,

Torture.

¹⁰¹ Lib. ix. tit. 2. l. 1. ¹⁰² Lib. vi. tit. 1. l. 8.

¹⁰³ Lib. vii. tit. 2. l. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Lib. xiii. tit. 1. l. 1. and lib. vi. tit. 1. l. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. tit. 4. l. 1. and 2.

unless it were in cases of theft or murder, or in other causes in which the subject of litigation was worth five hundred solidi. If the accuser, after causing others to be tortured, failed in his proof, he was ordained to become the slave of the person whom he had accused ¹⁰⁶.

All criminal trials were appointed to be held in public ¹⁰⁷.

Fines were not so common, on the whole, among the Visigoths, as among the Franks; but corporal punishment was much more frequent, ignominious, and severe.

Gothic ignorance, or rudeness, is proverbial; but when we review their code of laws, and compare them with those of the Franks, we have reason to admire the extent of their knowledge and observation, and the degree of their civilisation and refinement. The compilers of their laws, no doubt, had taken advantage of their intercourse with the Romans, to study their customs and laws, and to adopt many of them; but even when we have made every allowance, considering the people, their condition, and the age in which they lived, we have reason to wonder, and to retract somewhat of our prejudice respecting Gothic barbarity.

Of the Burgundian Law.

Burgundians.
22

The origin of the Burgundians may be traced obscurely among the Vandal race. Like other barbarous tribes, they pressed forward from the banks of the Elbe, sometimes as allies, and at other times as hostile invaders of the Roman empire, till they finally obtained a permanent settlement in that province of Gaul which still retains their name.

Era of
their laws.

Their code of laws was composed by Gundebaud, uncle of Clotildis, wife of Clovis. They

¹⁰⁶ Lib. vi. tit. 1. 1. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Lib. vii. tit. 4. 1. 7

are also ascribed to his son Sigismund, who probably corrected and improved them¹⁰⁸. They breathe somewhat the spirit of the Roman law, and are plainly accommodated to the Christian church¹⁰⁹. The peculiar favour shewn to any Goth who might chuse to settle among them, seems to imply a knowledge of their common northern origin. Their laws are fewer than those of either the Franks or Visigoths, and they are much milder.

Freemen, freedmen, and slaves, were, like those of the other nations, their ordinary ranks of men. Persons:

A slave once presented with his freedom, could not be reclaimed, from any caprice of his master, or other trivial cause, but by a formal sentence only of a court of justice¹¹⁰.

A father seems to have had less power over his children than among any of the other nations, and particularly than among the Romans¹¹¹; for he could not alienate their property from them, nor control them in the disposition of it.

He was still their natural guardian: next to him, the mother was the guardian of her own children; failing whom, the nearest of kin, without any specification¹¹².

The age of majority was fifteen years¹¹³.

In case of a daughter's marriage after the death of her father and brethren, the uncle was entitled

¹⁰⁸ "Gundebaldus—regionem omnem quæ nunc Burgundia dicitur in suo dominio restauravit, Burgundionibus leges mitiores instituit, ne Romanos opprimerent." Gregor. Tur. lib. ii. c. 33.

"Cum hac lege planissime convenit Papiani liber responsum, ex jure Romano, ut vero simile est hujus quoque Gundobaldi mandato collectus." Prolegom. Lindenbrogii in Codicem Legum Antiquarum.

¹⁰⁹ Prolegom. ut supra, and tit. xiv. l. 5. Additamenti primi, tit. i. l. 7.

¹¹⁰ Tit. 40.

¹¹¹ Tit. 51.

¹¹² Tit. 85.

¹¹³ Tit. 86.

to one third of her portion, and her sisters to another. If she had no sisters nor uncle, then her mother received one third, and her nearest of kin the other. She retained the other third herself¹¹⁴.

Property.

A woman was incapable of alienating from her children, and other heirs, any part of her marriage portion: she could, however, dispose of what she acquired by the testament of her children, or other friends, or by her own industry, as she chose¹¹⁵.

If a woman deserted her legal husband, she was ordained to be choked, or drowned in mud.

A husband, on deserting his wife, was bound to pay her equal to the amount of another portion, or what he gave for her on his marriage, and a fine besides of twelve solidi. If he could prove her an adulteress, a witch, or a violator of the tombs of the dead, he was liable to make no compensation whatever: but if he dismissed her without any cause, then his fortune went to her and her children¹¹⁶.

Adultery was punished with death¹¹⁷. Incest was punished with a fine only of twelve solidi; but the woman was subjected to slavery¹¹⁸.

A parent might dispose, as he pleased, of whatever he had acquired by his own industry; but that which he inherited, or derived from the nation or the king, descended in legal succession to his children.

If he chose, on the death of his wife, to marry again, it was necessary first to secure the children of the former marriage in their portion, reserving to himself a half only, which he might give or leave to the children of the second marriage¹¹⁹. In

¹¹⁴ Tit. 66. It is ascertained that the wittenon, *dos*, the portion, was what the husband gave the bride. Tit. 69.

¹¹⁵ Tit. 24.

¹¹⁶ Tit. 34.

¹¹⁷ Tit. 68.

¹¹⁸ Tit. 36.

¹¹⁹ Tit. 1.

da

other respects their rules of succession, of testament, &c. were similar to those of the other nations.

Prescription followed on peaceable possession after fifteen years; and thirty years completed a right, whatever violence or injury had attended the commencement of the occupancy. Prescription.

The laws of the other nations protect any one received into the house, and entertained by another; but the Burgundians are the only people whose laws enjoin hospitality. They ordain a fine of three solidi to be paid by any one who shall refuse hospitality to a stranger: yet they were jealous of foreigners who entered their country ¹²⁰. Hospitality.

Death was the penalty which the law denounced against murder in general. In the cases excepted from that general law, as when provocation was given, the fine for a noble person was but one hundred and fifty solidi; for an ordinary person, one hundred solidi; and for an inferior person, seventy-five solidi ¹²¹. Penalties.

Neglect of summons to a court of justice, was punished by a hundred lashes.

In cases of defective evidence, or when either party was obstinate, recourſe was had, as among the other rude nations, to duel, or single combat, &c. ¹²²

When we reflect on the laws of these several nations comparatively, the first observation which occurs, is the striking similarity of their general principles. Their ranks of persons, their relations, and the duties arising out of them; their rules of property, and forms of tenure and succession;

¹²⁰ Tit. 38, 39.¹²¹ Tit. 2.¹²² Tit. 45.

their foundations of obligation, and their causes and effects of legal action, with considerable variety in the detail, bear a strong resemblance on the whole : infomuch that we are likely to be disappointed, if we expected the character of these several codes to be distinctly marked on the people of those regions where their authority once prevailed. Many of the minuter differences were gradually effaced, 'run into the stronger features of the Roman law, or were obliterated afterwards by the still more powerful impresson of feudal times.

But, in the next place, as a difference is discernible which may be retained—as the milder laws among the Burgundians in favour of children, of females, and of hospitality—as the *patria potestas* among the Romans—or as the manner of attesting sales among the Ripuarians, it will be convenient and curious, in subsequent periods of this history, to be able to trace the customs of those countries or provinces, and to refer them to the original and peculiar laws of their respective ancestors.

Among the people of Provence, in Marseilles, and that neighbourhood especially, we might expect some traces of the laws of Ionia, whence the colony which peopled that city and country had emigrated ; but they appear to have framed new and peculiar rules for their infant settlement. Besides, the Romans early mingled with the people of that colony : It became peculiarly *Provincia Romana* ; and was, in progress of time, more impressed with the spirit of the Roman, than of the Grecian laws.

SECT. III.

Of Courts of Justice.

AFTER the legislature and laws, it follows of course that we enquire concerning the courts of justice, and their forms of procedure.

The king's court was originally intended for his own barony, or for the royal demesnes only ; but every man thinking himself equally entitled to the king's judgment and protection, and as, on some occasions, it seemed the interest of the king to encourage this kind of confidence and general appeal, his court became finally open to all. Sometimes he sat in judgment himself, but more frequently he deputed the count of the palace, and the chancellor¹.

The king's court.

The most eminent persons of the kingdom were assessors in this court. In A. D. 693, we find in it twelve bishops, twelve of the nobles, as dukes, barons, or seigneurs, eight counts, eight grafions, four officers of state, or of the palace, four referendaries, two seneschals, &c.²

After the general assemblies were discontinued; this court became also a council of state, from which it was usual to obtain the approbation of edicts, capitularies, or ordonances, before they were published by the king.

¹ Hincmar, de Ordine Palatii.

² " Ad proximam synodalem nostrum conventum ac generale placitum, ubi plures episcopi et comites convenerint, ista, sicut postea feceris, confirmabimus." Concession Caroli Magni ad ann. 803. " Si autem ad Salicam pertinet legem, et ibi minime reperieris quid exinde facere debeas, ad placitum nostrum generale exinde interrogare facias." Capitul. 6. ad ann. 803. c. 2.

Public business relative to the general interests of the state, was first transacted, and afterwards private causes.

Ecclesiastical court.

The bishops and abbots administered justice, in their own courts, to the people within their territories of temporal domains. The *avoués*, *vidames*, or commissaries, were their deputies. They were at great pains both to extend their jurisdiction, and prevent appeals from their decisions: They endeavoured to convert every kind of cause within their dioceses, as well as within their lordships, into an ecclesiastical process, and in the progress of time, their endeavours were crowned with such success, that few subjects of litigation were tried for many years before the civil courts.

Barony courts.

The dukes, counts, and barons, in like manner exercised justice in their own courts, in person, or by their deputies, to the people within their respective territories.

In order to make every district answerable for disorders committed within its bounds, Clotaire A. D. 595, divided the families of *ingenui*, or freemen, into hundreds, with an officer, *centenarius*, or hundreder over each. "Decretum est, ut quia

Hundreder,

in vigilias constitutas nocturnas fures non caperent, eo quod per diversas, intercedente colludio, scelera prætermissa custodias exercerent, centenas fieri, in qua centena, si aliquid deperierit capitale, qui perdiderat, recipiat, et latro infestus quatur." These hundreders became the presidents and judges of their districts, but were always subject to the authority and superior jurisdiction of their respective counts. Subject to the count, and probably to the hundreder, was the *vicarius*, the extent and nature of whose power and jurisdiction is not distinctly marked. But under the *centenarius* and him, was a *decanus*, who was entrusted

Decanus.

entrusted with the charge and jurisdiction of ten families³. It was competent for these inferior officers to judge only in smaller causes. In cases of liberty, extensive property, or life, the trial was conducted before the count, or the king's commissaries, unless it was brought before the king's own court.

The general idea of these civil officers among the Franks, may have been borrowed either from the military orders of the Romans, or from the civil and military government of the Hebrews⁴. But it appears to have been also customary among the ancient Germans, among whom the hundreders were captains in war, and judges in peace. The proclamation for raising troops was addressed to them⁵.

In order that justice might be the more prudently and impartially administered, seven *scabini*, *rachinburgs*, or assessors, were appointed to every *baron*. They were chosen by the people, and formed a kind of jury in every court. Assessors.

To prevent injustice and oppression still more, it was ordained that no one should exercise jurisdiction in a province or district where he had no property. The reason assigned is, that his estate

³ "Vicarii, qui pagum illum judiciaria regebat potestate," Greg. Tur. lib. x. c. 5. "Comites, et vicarii, vel etiam decani plurima placita constituant." Hincmar, Opusc. xv. c. 15. "Ut ante vicarium et centenarium de proprietate aut libertate judicium non terminetur, aut acquiratur, nisi semper in presentia missorum imperialium, aut in presentia comitum." Capitul. i. c. 2. A. D. 800. et Append. ii. c. 28.

⁴ "Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens, and let them judge the people at all seasons." Exod. xviii. 21, 22.

⁵ Abbe Vertot, vol. ii. Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscr. and Belles Lettres.

might

might be answerable to the full amount of the injury sustained by his inequitable decisions.

The judges of every court of justice were bound to report to every general assembly, and to the king at the plenary courts, the state of justice, and the condition of the people within their respective jurisdictions. Complaints and appeals from them were also competent to the general assembly, or to the king at the plenary court.

Royal commissaries.

Besides these stationary courts, there were also ambulatory courts, held four times a year by commissaries, usually a count and a bishop, appointed by royal authority, with suitable attendants, to visit every province, to summon the judges of the several courts before them, to take an account of their conduct, to hear complaints (if any should be offered against the judges or their decisions), and generally to observe and report the state of the people to the king. When appeals were ill-founded, the appellant, if noble, was fined; if of low rank, he was scourged. The judge too, if the complaint was found just and contrary to law, was liable to a penalty somewhat proportioned to the transgression⁶.

Plenary courts.

The plenary courts were public assemblies held by the king, chiefly for the purpose of festivity and show, twice a year, at Christmas and Easter. The nobility were all invited, and considered themselves as bound to attend. They met sometimes in the palace, and sometimes in the open field. Feasting and every kind of entertainment were provided for a week together at the king's expense.

They commenced with the solemn celebration of the mass, during which the priest put the crown

⁶ In either case the fine was either capital, or by composition 600 solidi. Salic Law.

re specti-

respectfully and formally on the head of the king. At dinner on this occasion, the king, the bishops, and the most distinguished dukes, sat together at one table; the abbots, counts, and inferior barons, were seated at another.

The feast was abundant, rather than delicate; every service was introduced with the music of flutes and hautboys; and when the dessert was presented, twenty heralds at arms, each with a cup of rich liquor in his hand, three times proclaimed, "The bounty of the best or most powerful of kings," scattering gold and silver with great profusion among the people, and accompanying it with various flourishes of trumpets.

After dinner, every one indulged in the amusement which he liked best, in hunting, fishing, music, pantomimes, rope-dancing, &c.

The expence of these festivals was immoderate, and was the occasion of their cessation.

During their continuance, which was about a week, much business was usually transacted. The provincial commissaries particularly, then gave in their report to the king, of the state of justice, and of the general condition and order of the people over all the kingdom⁷.

The form of process in these courts was such as might be expected from the rudeness of the times. Every man generally was his own agent and pleader, though there were cases in which either gratuitous or hired agents were admitted. On appearing in a certain situation, such as we now call the bar, the person was asked by the judge, if his appearance was for himself, or for another; if for another, he produced his mandate or authority, and then proceeded to state his case. The judge

Form of
process.

⁷ Ducangé Differt. 4me sur le regne de St. Louis.

was bound to hear and determine it against a fixed day not very distant, under a considerable penalty^{*}.

Summons.

If the cause required proof, the procedure was sometimes tedious. The prosecutor, or defender, summoned each his own witnesses, who were obliged to attend, or to pay a fine of fifteen solidi.

Witnesses.

The witnesses were not regarded on account of their credibility, but on account of their number; and the number too was expected to bear a proportion to the rank of the person, and the enormity of the crime. Fredegonde proved her fidelity to her husband by the oaths of three bishops, and three hundred other persons of rank. Seventy-two witnesses were requisite for the trial of a bishop, forty for that of a priest, and more or less for laics, according to their rank, and the importance of the case.

No witness was admitted who was not a settled inhabitant of the county or district in which his evidence was required. Before interrogating him, the judge twitched his ear, or gave him a gentle blow, warning him to speak the truth.

Oaths.

Oaths were put, and witnesses examined on certain holidays, before mid-day, over a crucifix, an altar, the gospels, relics, or the tomb of a saint, with a view to impress their mind with awe, and to dispose them to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. When the witnesses touched the altar, the cross, &c. over which they swore, the accused person stretched his hands over theirs, protesting loudly his innocence[†].

The prosecutor was generally allowed to choose the place and form of the oath; and he preferred

^{*} Fifteen solidi, Salic Law.

[†] Vertot, Discours sur les Serments de les anciens François.

that

that which either he himself, or the defender, or the witnesses, most venerated and feared. Sometimes he required, and was indulged, that the oath should be repeated in different places. Pepin obliged Tassilon duke of Bavaria, to swear allegiance to him and his sons over the tombs of Saint Denis, Saint Martin, and Saint Germain¹⁰.

The person chiefly interested, whether prosecutor or defender, swore to the fact, such as that he received so many strokes and so many wounds. The witnesses seem not to have been sworn to the fact, for so many could seldom have had access to the knowledge of it, but to their belief that the person swearing to the fact, spake the truth, and ought to be credited.

Those who were still pagans, were accustomed to swear over the head of an animal, "*ad caput cuius-cunque feræ vel pecudis*," which, however, was forbidden by the sixteenth canon of the fourth council of Orleans.

The Saxons were accustomed to swear over the points of their arms, "*eductis mucronibus jura-verè*"¹¹.

Purgation
by duel.

When evidence failed, or sometimes independent of that, recourse was had to practices the most absurd, but reckoned then the most solemn appeals to God, and the most satisfactory means of evincing the truth. One of the most common of these means of trial was by duel. It is said to have originated among the more northern nations, but it may be traced in some degree almost among all nations. Not only the laws of the Burgundians, who were of the Vandals, a northern race, but the laws

¹⁰ Adelmi Chron. A. D. 756, 757.

¹¹ Ducange Gloss. ad voc. Jurare. Eginhart, an. 757.

of the Franks and other German nations prescribe and enjoin the proof by duel¹².

† The accuser and the accused, or if the case was not criminal, the two parties, engaged to rest their cause on a personal battle; or with the permission of the judge, they might fight by deputation. Meantime they gave the challenge by the defender's throwing down his vadium, wad, or pledge, in the presence of the judge of the court; the prosecutor taking it up, both parties, or their champions, were taken into custody, or were admitted to bail till the day or hour of combat. If either of them fled, the cause which he espoused was lost, and he was declared infamous.

A sword and buckler only were allowed to the combatants on foot, but full armour was allowed to them on horseback. Their arms were carried in procession by the judge, accompanied with martial music, to the place of combat, and there the priest pronounced the benediction over them with much ceremony. The champions swore that they had no magical charms, nor means of enchantment or witchcraft about them, and that they would fight with fairness and honour. Their armour then was given them, and silence, and the prohibition of any motion or mark of partiality, was proclaimed.

In ruder times, and on ordinary occasions, there might be less ceremony: with the progress of chivalry, pomp and ceremony increased.

The action commenced with mutual affectation of passionate assertion and contradiction, or giving each other the lie. The trumpet sounded, and the combat began. The judge marked the period of

¹² Goliath of Gath and David's combat, and similar combats among the Romans, seem to have been of nearly the same nature.

time, or the number of strokes agreed on, and tossed or waved his staff of office, when it was time to cease. If night came on before the combat was over, the accused was held vanquished, and subjected without delay to the penalty annexed by law to the injury or crime with which he was charged.

The diseased, the lame, youths under twenty, and the aged above sixty, only were excused from such trials. All others without exception were obliged to fight, or find a champion. If the crime was capital, the champion as well as his constituent, on being unsuccessful, immediately suffered death; or, by the Salic Law, compounded for their lives.

By the Capitulary A. D. 816, ordinary persons were allowed to fight with cudgels, and with less ceremony. "If two persons shall disagree in their testimony, the court shall appoint them to fight with cudgels, unless they be either under or above the legal age; in which case, one of their children or relations shall appear for them, and the person convicted shall lose his right hand¹²."

If two neighbours, say the Capitularies of Dagobert, shall contend about their marches, let a piece of turf be taken from the place disputed, let the count or judge take it into his hands in the mall or public court, let the two parties touch it with the point of their spears, calling God to witness the truth of what they assert, after which let them fight; victory shall ascertain right.

Gontran, king of Burgundy, having accused his chamberlain of killing a wild bull, obliged him, on his denying it, though above the legal age, to substitute a champion. The chamberlain appointed his nephew. The nephew having mortally wounded his antagonist, was disarming him, when he was

¹² Addit. ad Leg. Sal. Eccard. p. 183.

killed

killed himself. The uncle fled, but was overtaken and stoned to death¹⁴.

By hot iron. Another kind of trial often alluded to in the Laws, &c. was the lifting, handling, or touching hot iron. This custom may be traced into the remotest antiquity of heathen superstition :

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ μύδρῃς αἰρεῖν χεῖρας,
καὶ πῦρ διεπτεῖν, καὶ θεὸς ἑρκισσάμεν, &c.

Sophoclis Antigona:

“ We are willing to swear by the gods, and to confirm our oath by laying hold of the hot iron with our hands, or to move along it slowly with our feet.”

—Et medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.

Virgil. Æneid. lib. xi.

The bar of iron was heated more or less, according to the enormity of the crime, or to the presumptions against the pannel. It was the property and right of the clergy, and was kept by them for the purpose of trial. A certain sum was paid to them for the use of it, and for the benediction and other ceremonies attending it. As the duel was rather for military men, so this was chiefly destined for ecclesiastics and people of rank.

Three days were spent before the trial, in fasting on bread and water; on the third day, the accused attended the mass. Before receiving the consecrated bread, he protested his innocence with a loud voice, and then took the sacrament; the clergy then chanting solemn music, conducted him

¹⁴ Greg. Tur. lib. viii. Pasquier Recherches, liv. iv. Glossarium Ducange, ad voc. Dugillum.

to the place of probation. He kissed the Gospels, sipped the holy water, which was also sprinkled on his face, his head, his clothes, and especially on the hand to be employed in the trial.

The iron was adapted to the different kinds or degree of criminality. If to be walked on, it was in the form of shares, nine feet long; if to be only grasped with the hand, it was a bar, which was to be carried nine steps, or paces; or it was in the form of a glove, into which the hand was to be thrust; or it was any piece of iron, to which the hand was simply to be applied. In either of these cases, the part applied to the iron was immediately wrapped up, and sealed by the judge and the prosecutor. On the third day the seals were broken, and the wrapping removed: if no mark of burning appeared, the accused person was absolved and dismissed; but otherwise, he was found guilty, and punished¹⁵.

The trial by boiling water, into which the hand was plunged, was more common among men of inferior rank: the ceremonies attending it, however, were similar to those of the hot iron. It was done in the church; it was preceded with prayers, with the communion, and with benediction. After the hand was taken from the water, it was wrapped up and sealed till the third day; and according to appearances then, was the justification or condemnation¹⁶.

By hot water.

To this trial was sometimes added the circumstance of throwing a finger-ring into a brass pan or kettle, full of boiling water, from which the accused was required to find and take it with his naked hand. Gregory of Tours describes a case

¹⁵ M. Duclos, tom. xv. Mem. de l'Acad. Ducange, voc. Ferrum.

¹⁶ Ducange, ad voc. Aquæ serventis Judicium.

of this kind in the first book of *De Gloria Martyrum*”:

“ In a warm dispute betwixt an Arian presbyter
 “ and a Catholic deacon, when, as usually happens
 “ in such controversy, neither of them made any
 “ impression on the other, ‘ To what purpose,’
 “ said the Catholic, ‘ do we thus fatigue ourselves
 “ with argument ? let us rather appeal to fact : let
 “ the boiler be set on the fire, and let any one’s
 “ ring be thrown into it. Such of us as shall take
 “ it out, shall thereby prove the truth of the doc-
 “ trine which he believes ; and may convert many
 “ of the opposite party to embrace his faith.’—
 “ The Arian consented ; and the trial, on which,
 “ in their opinion, depended the truth of the
 “ doctrine of the sacred Trinity, was delayed
 “ only till next morning. The fervour produced
 “ by argument was cooled, and the deacon’s cou-
 “ rage in the morning had almost failed, but by
 “ oil and prayers he diligently prepared himself ;
 “ and they met betimes, attended by a great mul-
 “ titude, curious to witness the trial and the issue
 “ of it. The prayers and other ceremonies, as in
 “ the other trials, were observed. The large brass
 “ kettle was placed on the fire ; it boiled with
 “ violence ; the ring was cast into it. The Ca-
 “ tholic politely asked the Arian to begin, but he
 “ as politely declined, alleging that the other had
 “ the merit of first proposing this mode of de-
 “ cision. The trembling deacon bared his
 “ arm, which appeared all besmeared with oil, or
 “ other ointment. The presbyter objected to
 “ these magical unctions ; yet, recollecting himself,
 “ said they should all prove vain. During this
 “ altercation, another deacon, named Jacinet, just

” See also Eccard’s note on tit. 56 of the Salic law. *De manu ab Æneo redimenda.*

“ arrived

“ arrived from Ravenna, enquiring the occasion
 “ of the dispute, presented himself as ready to
 “ end it, by taking the place of his brother dea-
 “ con ; and, without any hesitation, advanced to
 “ the boiler, and, uncovering his arm, thrust it into
 “ the water. The ring was light and small ; the
 “ water was much agitated in boiling. An hour
 “ was spent before he found it ; but at last he pro-
 “ duced it triumphant, and without having received
 “ the smallest injury or pain. He, the heretic as
 “ he is called, then advanced in confusion, and
 “ boldly began the experiment, saying, ‘ My faith
 “ shall save me ;’ but in a short time the skin and
 “ flesh of his arm were boiled and destroyed : and
 “ so the contest ended.”—The historian of Tours
 himself seems much edified, and had no doubt that
 it was a real triumph of the Catholic over the
 Arian faith.”

The trial by cold water was simple, and used by the vulgar, or by slaves. It was preceded too by prayers, by communion, by adjuration to declare the

By cold wa-
ter.

“ “ Si vis in manu tua portare ignem ut non offendat, ac-
 “ cipe calcem dissolutam cum aqua fabarum calida, et ali-
 “ quantulum magranculis (*μαγρονουλος*), et aliquantulum malva-
 “ visci, et permisce id cum eobene, et deinde line cum eo pal-
 “ mam tuam, et fac ficcari et pone in ea ignem, et non noc-
 “ bit.

“ Vel—Recipe succum bismalva, et albumen ovi, et semen
 “ psyllii, et calcem, et pulverisa et confice cum illo albumine ovi,
 “ succum raphani commisce, et ex hac confectione illinas cor-
 “ pus tuum, vel manum, et dimitte ficcari, et postea iterum il-
 “ linas, et posthac poteris audacter sustinere ignem sine no-
 “ cumento.” Ducange, ad voc. Ferrum candens.

Take chalk, or lime, slacked with hot water, in which
 beans were boiled, some magranculus and mallows ; mix
 them well, and anoint your hand, &c.

Or, Take the juice of mallows, the white of an egg, the
 seed of fleawort, or fleabane, chalk, or lime, and the juice of
 raddishes. With the ointment of this composition repeatedly
 anoint yourself, &c.

truth, by benediction, and exorcism of the water into which the persons were to be plunged. The accused was bound hand and foot, that there might be no struggle, delay, or inequality, betwixt one who could, and one who could not swim. On being put into the pool, if he sunk, he was innocent; if not, he was guilty.

Hincmar, the learned bishop of Rheims, seems to have derived the trials by fire from Lot's escape from Sodom, and the three children's preservation in the fiery furnace of Babylon; and the trial by cold water, from the deluge of Noah, and from the virtue of baptism. Subsequent popes and princes, however, seem to have entertained a different opinion; and finding them frequently abused, employed all their authority and influence to prevent them.

By the cross.

The trial by the cross, was used chiefly in ecclesiastical matters. The precise manner in which this trial was performed, whether by standing beside a cross erected for the purpose, or with the arms only extended and crossed for a length of time, while a number of prayers and passages of scripture were read, is uncertain: but the guilty person was supposed incapable of standing it out; and his guilt accordingly was proved by his falling down faint before the service was finished.

It was also done by wrapping two pieces of wood, one of them being marked with the sign of the cross, in wool; which being placed on the altar, or near some relic, and the usual prayers being ended, the pannel, or any other, was desired to draw out one of the pieces of wood: if he drew the one marked with the cross, he was innocent; if the other, he was guilty. Lewis the Meek abolished this prostitution of the cross¹⁹.

¹⁹ Ducange, ad voc. Crucis judicium; .

These, through the ignorance and superstition of the times, were believed to be the judgments of the only wise God. An Austrasian ambassador thought himself injured by the king of Burgundy ; “ Were it any other but a king that dared to reproach me, I should call him out, and God should decide.” They believed that the Supreme Being would never permit an innocent man to suffer for want of a miracle.

Finally, the torture was frequently employed, though chiefly on slaves, in order to obtain evidence. They suspended the accused, or the witnesses whom they supposed obstinate, with ropes and pulleys, by the hands and feet ; stretching them on a beam, or swinging and scourging them, till they either forced them to say what they wanted, or made them expire in agony. By torture.

Gregory of Tours, describing the sufferings of Leudastes, who, among other offences, had been guilty of spreading scandals against Chilperic's queen, says, “ that being apprehended, he was suspended on a tree, with his hands tied behind his back, from three till nine o'clock ; then let down, and stretched with pulleys on a beam : he was beat with ropes, with rods, and double thongs ; and that not by one or two persons, but by as many as could stand within reach of his tortured body ; till, almost at the point of death, he told who had suborned him to publish these scandals²⁰.”

²⁰ Lib. v. c. 49. “ Si cujus servus in furtum fuerit inculpatus, si talis causa est unde ingenuus 600 den. qui faciunt 15 sol. componere debeat, servus super scamno trusus 120 ictus accipiat,” &c. Salic. Lex, tit. 43.

SECT. IV.

Of the Public Revenue.

THE progress of civilisation gradually substitutes taxation for personal service. During the infancy of the Roman republic, every citizen was a soldier, and marched to the field with his own provisions, unsupported, and unpaid by the public: but the frequency of the service at last rendered the burden on the individual intolerable. At first, ambition, and the love of plunder, might induce the rude and roaming mind to war, and the consequences of success would generally be a sufficient recompence for the inconveniency and labour of the enterprise; but, in proportion as the arts advanced, and men engaged and prospered in agriculture, and in the various mechanical trades, they would be unwilling to desert them for either the fame of fighting, or for the uncertain product of plunder. Hence a composition was allowed, and a fine levied, from such as unnecessarily absented themselves from the field of March. The fine became a tax; the tax, in order to be more equal, was made general. The Gauls were accustomed to it under the Roman government. The luxury and avarice of the emperors, and the injustice and insolence of the tax-gatherers, had reconciled them to submission and oppression.

First taxes
were fines.

The Franks originally were nearly in the condition of the infant Roman state: every one was a soldier; provided for himself; and though he loved plunder, had very little idea of regular taxes. The Gauls were subjected to their dominion; to the dominion of a ruder or less civilised people; to a military government at first, and, in some cases, to
barbarous

barbarous customs and laws ; but, on the whole, to a lighter taxation, and to a milder rule.

In many cases the change must have appeared more nominal than real. When lands were assigned to the conquerors, the former proprietors and cultivators were not deprived of them, but continued to cultivate them as before, and to share the produce. The addition of a few families on an extensive territory, could scarcely be felt as any considerable hardship ; and it most probably fell chiefly on the Roman officers, who were the objects rather of the people's hatred, than of their compassion. Thus the king of the Franks might be considered as substituted in the room of the præfect, or Roman governor, and quæstor ; and the other leaders and soldiers came in the place of the officers and soldiers of the Roman legion. If the lands were nominally seized, the stipendiary taxes were in a great measure remitted. Whatever now was levied, was not to be sent abroad to a distant potentate, but to be consumed in the country, and diffused back among the people, and on the lands from which it had been taken.

The king of the Franks having received his share of territory, maintained his household, and supported his royal dignity, chiefly by its produce. But he had also other sources of revenue : his subjects brought him, as in Germany, annual presents, when they assembled in the field of March, and particularly, as formerly mentioned, in the field of August. These were, cattle and horses, and various kinds of provisions and other valuable articles.

Royal territory.

The *fredum* was another, though a less considerable source of revenue. It was a third of the fines paid in composition for injuries, or other trespasses of the law. If it was a public injury or

The *fredum*.

transgression, then the whole fine went to the fisc, or public treasury; but if there was a private sufferer by the transgression, then two-thirds were paid to him, and the other third was the king's. As the *fredum* was a recompence for the protection granted against the right of revenge, it belonged equally to the count or to the baron as to the king, when the cause was cognisable in their court.

The census.

The *census* was a tax raised upon bondmen, or slaves, and strangers: the latter were exempted, however, by Charlemagne. The sum levied from them was various, probably twelve or fifteen denarii; but over the whole kingdom it must have risen to a considerable amount¹.

Carriages,
&c.

Freemen were exempted from the *census*; and were only obliged to find lodging, carriages, and beasts of burden for the army, when it passed through their part of the country. It seemed otherwise a sufficient tax imposed on them, that they were the legal soldiers when the state required them for its defence. Charlemagne, after the example, it is said, of his son Lewis, while king in Aquitaine, freed the people and the monasteries even from the burden of furnishing provisions for the army on their march. Such was the primitive revenue of the French kings.

Amphora of
wine.

They wasted, however, so considerably their demesnes by benefices to their antrustics, and other dependants, by expensive hospitality, and by unnecessary wars, that taxes were found necessary. Chilperic imposed *amphora*, about nine gallons English measure, of wine, on every acre of vineyard, and as much on every slave. Nothing, adds the historian, was free from taxation; and the people emigrated from such intolerable burdens. At Li-

¹ Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, b. xxx. ch. 15:

moges, they rose against the tax-gatherer, *Marcus referendarius*, and nearly put him to death. They plundered the custom-house, and burnt the account-books, together with the edicts which authorised them. The king, Chilperic, in a rage, quartered troops on that part of the country, doubled the tax, and punished the insurgents with the utmost severity. They were relieved from this oppression, however, by his death, and by the friendly counsel of Gontran².

Clotaire I. intended to claim, and actually did demand, a third of the whole revenues of the church. All the other bishops had consented, excepting the bishop of Tours, who refused, saying, "If you take the property of the church, God will soon deprive you of your kingdom." Clotaire was afraid, and relinquished this claim.

Charles Martel laid the chief burden of his wars on the clergy and church lands; not only because they were rich, and less oppressed than his other subjects, while they enjoyed equal protection with them; but because the wars in which he was engaged, with the Saracens especially, might be considered as religious. Many of the clergy were highly offended with him on this account: they painted his character in the blackest colours, and rudely asserted, that he was subjected in the invisible world to the most excruciating torments.

There were certain duties of an inferior kind, as the reaping of hay, harvest, and other acts of servitude, rather than taxes, which were payable to the king, as lord of the domain, as well as to the other barons, who levied them on their respective estates.

² Greg. Tar. lib. v. c. 29.

SECT. V.

Of Military and Naval Affairs.

PART I. Of Military Affairs.

Persons.

THE native Gauls, as well as the other northern nations who mingled with them, were considerably more robust and taller than the Romans, insomuch that they are said at first to have dreaded their very appearance. Cæsar and Tacitus ascribe their superior size and strength to their distance from Italian intercourse and effeminacy, to their mothers suckling their own infants, to late puberty and marriage, and to those hardy habits and modes of life, to which their rude state, and less favourable soil and climate, exposed them.

Arms.

Their arms, though few, were proportionally large, and they were peculiarly dexterous in managing them. They consisted of a short and sharp pointed dagger, hung from a belt girt round their middle, which they either threw at a distance, or fought with hand to hand : a double axe they used in like manner. Their spear was generally barbed, so that it stuck fast in the body into which it entered, or tore the wound dreadfully when it was extracted. Their shield was two-thirds the length of their body, and rather broader than their shoulders¹.

Their weapons, and their expertness in using them, are thus described by Sidonius Apollinaris, a poet of the age immediately preceding that of Clovis :

*Strictius affutæ vestes procera coercent
Membra virum. Patet iis arctato tegmine poples*

Latus,

¹ Agath. Hist. Goth. lib. ii. Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

*Latus, et angustam suspendit balteus alvum.
Excussisse citas vastum per inane bipennes
Et plagæ præscisse locum, clypeosque rotare
Ludus, et intortas præcedere saltibus hastas,
Inque hostem venisse prius.*

Their cavalry, which were but few in number, used only a spear and shield, without breast-plate or helmet. To the Greeks and Romans, the bare heads of their soldiers (for they had no covering on them) seemed rude and unwarlike². The princes however, generals, and other persons of superior rank, were covered and protected in a more soldier-like manner; some with helmets, and others with a complete coat of mail³. They were not unacquainted with the bow and arrow, for both are particularly mentioned in the Salic law, title 32. And they were accustomed sometimes to use poisoned arrows; but it seems to have been done more frequently in hunting, than in war. At certain times they employed their bows and arrows, and even slings, with great effect in sieges, and in such situations as did not admit a close and equal engagement. Charlemagne was sensible of the advantage which might often be derived from them, and ordered every soldier to be furnished with a bow and twelve arrows.

- The ancient Gauls used war chariots, which were drawn by two horses, and contained the driver and a warrior; they do not seem to have fought in them, but, on meeting the enemy, to have leapt from them, and engaged him on foot⁴.

² The common soldiers seem to have shaven the lower part of the head, "cum privati in orbem tonderi soleant." Agath. lib. i.

³ Greg. Tur. lib. vii. c. 38.

⁴ Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. Cluver, Germ. Antiq. treats this subject at some length.

For a considerable time after the conquest of Clovis, his army consisted only of Franks, and might be recruited by those who, hearing of his success, afterwards followed him from Germany. It would have been impolitic and dangerous to have admitted at that time, many of the Gauls among his troops. The Burgundians served under him, as his allies, in the war against Alaric; and the ten thousand of that nation whom Theodebert sent to assist Vitiger at the siege of Milan, are the first troops we find employed directly in the service of the Franks. Individuals might enlist, and fight, in the same ranks with the Germans; but it required above a century to wear away the prejudices and jealousy which, in their circumstances, both the conquered and their conquerors had naturally imbibed.

The accommodation of the latter, however, in matters which were reckoned of great importance, gradually reconciled the former. The Franks were generally converted to Christianity, and adopted, in many things, the customs of the Gauls; whatever was the rule for the partition of their lands, whether, like the Goths and Burgundians, they claimed two-thirds^s, and left one-third only to the Gauls, or sometimes were contented with a much less proportion; they seem, on the whole, to have rendered the state of the people subjected to their power comparatively easy and comfortable. In consequence of free intercourse and intermarriages, mutual confidence increased; and the national distinction of Frank and Gaul gradually disappearing, they at last mingled together as one people.

^s "Nec de duabus partibus Gothi aliquid sibi Romanus præsumat," &c. Leg. Visig. lib. x. tit. i. lex 8.

"Duas terrarum partes," &c. Burgund. Leg. tit. 54.

So early as the reign of Clotaire I. the troops are mentioned as if raised indiscriminately, being denominated the levies of the respective counties, of Tours, of Poitou, of Maine, of Anjou, &c.⁶

From their names, too, we may learn that the Gauls began about the same time to be entrusted with the most important offices. Celsus, who commanded Gontran's army, Ennius Mummolus, Dynamius governor of Provence, Lupus duke of Champagne, &c. are Roman, and not German names: and, on being compared with the Sichiaires, the Cararics, and Evarics, and other German friends of Clovis, we shall find that a great change had taken place on the people who composed, as well as commanded, the army.

A change, of course, seems to have taken place in the manner of levying the troops; as originally they assembled spontaneously at the field of March. For some time, under Clovis, they seem to have resembled a standing army, whose profession and sole business was arms. From their situation they appeared recent conquerors of a great country, and always ready to assemble and march on the shortest notice: but when the assembly of March was neglected, and the Franks had mingled more indiscriminately with the Gauls, and individuals were no longer soldiers by profession, but counties were called on to furnish their quota of troops, then the proclamation for raising them was addressed to the duke, or count, who summoned his subordinate officers, the hundreders, decanus, &c.; and they, accurately and personally knowing the men of their respective districts who were able to bear arms, conducted them wherever they were directed.

Church lands, as well as those of laymen, were bound to furnish their proportion of troops; but

⁶ Greg. Tur. lib. iv. c. 30. and lib. v. c. 4.

the bishops and abbots were exempted from personal service at the head of them: they employed a vidame, vice-dominus, or commissary, in their room, unless they chose to march themselves, which was sometimes the case: it was always unpopular, however, and sometimes occasioned such expence as almost ruined the poorer monasteries. The council of Soissons, A. D. 744, ordained that they should send their quota of troops, but on no account that their abbots should accompany them.

Proportion-
ate number.

It was very easy to proportion the number to be furnished by every county, or district. Supposing forty thousand to be the number of the army wanted, the summons was issued by the king, or the mayor in his name, to the duke, or count of twenty counties, the nearest to the intended seat of war, to raise two thousand each; or, at that rate, according to their extent and population: and this order, by observing the above arrangement, might be executed with the greatest order and dispatch.

The age and classes of men exempted from service are distinctly pointed out by the capitularies, so that there could be little or no embarrassment on that account.

To obviate some inconveniences which had occurred, Charlemagne ordained that no man should be obliged to go to war at his own expence, who did not possess from three to five manors, or from thirty-six to sixty acres of land: that he who had two, should join him who had one, and jointly send one of their number, and at their common expence, to the army. In like manner that three single or separate manors or farms, of about twelve or twenty acres each, or six half manors, should join

join and send one man: All under half a manor were exempted from both service and burden⁷.

Every one who had four manors, was obliged at his own expence to go to war; and he who had twelve manors, was required to wear a cuirass, "*bruniam habeat*." The fine for neglect, or absence, was sixty solidi, or the loss of liberty.

Commissaries were sent occasionally over the country, to enquire and observe whether the count had made due returns of the people who were able to carry arms; and whether he had excused any absentee without good reason: and for one whom he detained, or allowed to be absent unnecessarily, or without the king's permission, he was fined sixty solidi of gold.

It was necessary that some able-bodied men should remain at home, particularly in the frontier districts, for the purpose of watching and protecting them.

The highways and bridges were also subjects of much attention; and not a few were exempted from the service of war, in order that they might be employed in making or repairing them.

The capitulary regulating provision for marching to war, runs thus: "It is ordained that, according to ancient custom, victuals shall be provided in his own province by every free man going to war for three months, and arms and clothes for half a year: that they who come

Provision.

⁷ In the black book of Exchequer in England, we find a similar principle observed. A king's vassal is represented as rating himself thus;

"Isti sunt milites de quibus vobis debeo servitium:

"Petrus de Brimingham tenet feodum 9 militum.

"Giffardus de Tiringham feod. 3 militum.

"Henricus de Mohun feod. 1 militis, &c.

"Michael filius Osberti et Wilielmus de Lovent. feod. dimidii militis," &c.

"from

“ from the Rhine to the Loire, shall begin to
 “ count these three months only on their arrival at
 “ the Loire ; and shall do the same in going from
 “ the Loire to the Rhine.”

Discipline.

The military discipline was various in different reigns. Clovis was rigid in maintaining it: there was somewhat of resentment mingled with discipline, when he smote the soldier to the ground at the first review or field of March after the conquest of France ; and again we find him ordering a soldier to be punished with death, for having stolen a bundle of hay on the march through the county of Tours against Alaric. The consequence of such severity, however, was the greatest order and vigour in the army, so that we very seldom hear of a complaint, or a whisper of licentiousness, in a march. Under the successors of Clovis that discipline relaxed, and disorders of course prevailed: the mean policy, and, it may be added, the shocking cruelties of Childebert and Chilperic, and the unsteadiness of Gontran, prevented the good effects of any discipline which they prescribed.

Lapidation, or stoning, was a Roman punishment, but seldom used in France ; it does occur, however, when Sigibert's soldiers mutinied on his restraining them from attacking the camp of Chilperic^a.

Fines were introduced, as an exercise of military discipline, by Pepin and Charlemagne. Triple the value of the injury committed on a march, was demanded from a soldier, for the benefit of the person injured. If the injury was done by an order, or with the countenance or authority of a superior officer, that officer was degraded, and deprived of his rank and office.

^a Greg. Tur. lib. ii. c. 36, 37.

A drunk-

A drunkard was punished with fasting; a deserter with death; and a coward with infamy; which was not only accompanied with every military degradation, but he was declared incapable of ever bearing witness in any process or civil court.

Men in a state of servitude went also to war; but they seem rather to have accompanied their masters in the capacity of servants, or artists, than of soldiers: they were grooms, taylor, barbers, shoemakers, smiths, or carpenters, who were frequently animated with the ambition of fighting by the side of their masters, or were occasionally embodied under their authority and direction. Slaves were more generally employed in agriculture, and other peaceful arts: freemen only were bound to what was accounted the more honourable service of arms.

Military standards were the figures of animals; Standards.
as of the lion, raised on the end of a long spear.

The signal for marching, for halting, or for engaging in battle, was given by sound of trumpet. In advancing, and in the act of making the attack, the troops themselves raised the *barritus*, or war-shout, which cheered and roused them at the awful moment⁹.

There is no description of a battle in any of the early French historians; that is, they have not left on record any representation of the arrangement of the troops, or of the plan of attack. We are indebted to Agathias, a Greek historian, who wrote the campaigns of Narfes, for an account of that engagement in Italy betwixt the Greeks under Narfes and the French under Butilinus, which proved so fatal to the latter.

⁹ Diodor. lib. v. Tacit. de Morib. Germ. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xvi. 26.

The French army amounted to thirty thousand, the Imperial only to eighteen thousand men. The French general was confident of success, from his numbers and favourable situation. In the beautiful plain which extends along the bank of the river Casilin, he had pitched his camp: that river defended him on the right, and on the left he had secured himself with a strong rampart, and with the carriages, having their wheels half-sunk in the ground. The chief access of the enemy towards him, was by the bridge, which Butilinus had also secured, by a tower that he erected, and filled with some chosen troops. Narses drew up his men in the form of a deep phalanx, with an extended front, opposite to the end of the bridge, on the other side of the river, and in front of his camp. The front ranks covered themselves by a testudo: the archers waited in the rear. The French drew up in the form of a triangle, presenting a sharp angle to the bridge, where they expected the enemy. A loaded waggon of hay, set on fire and pushed along the bridge to the tower, drove the French from that quarter, and provoked them to an immediate engagement.

Having recovered the bridge, they advanced against the enemy, shouting as usual; they then darted their axes against the testudo, penetrated the first line, and even forced their way through the second, which was opened for them on purpose. Without considering the bodies of cavalry and archers behind, ready to attack them on every side, they proceeded without delay to pillage the camp, as if they had already defeated the enemy. Unshielded, and surrounded by both the infantry and cavalry of the enemy, their order of battle was of no further service to them: their ardour, which had often made them invincible to armies and ge-

ments of less experience, here exposed them to irretrievable confusion and slaughter. With the loss of only fourscore men, the Greeks killed, or drove into the river and drowned, thirty thousand, with the exception of only five thousand Franks¹⁰.

Their manner of conducting sieges, and their warlike engines, appear to have been altogether an awkward imitation of those adopted by the Romans. The battering ram was a large and long beam, armed at one end with iron, in the form of a ram's head. It was suspended on a proper carriage, with cables and pulleys; and thrust violently forward and backward against the wall, in order to shake and overthrow it. The men who worked it were covered with beams of wood, and such other materials as were best calculated to protect them against the various missile weapons, stones, torches, &c. of the besieged¹¹.

Warlike
engines.

They seem to have been accustomed to the *testudo*, both in the field and in approaching and scaling walls. It was a covering which they obtained by holding their shields compactly and steadily over their heads, to prevent them from being annoyed by missile weapons, till they were sufficiently near to use their axe or sword¹².

Part II. *Of Naval Affairs.*

When we consider the extensive maritime coast of France, the large rivers which intersect it in different directions, and its central situation in Europe, we have reason to wonder that naval af-

¹⁰ The Gauls were originally ambitious of boasting and triumphing, after a victory. They often cut off an enemy's head, and kept it as a trophy to future generations. Diodor. Sic. lib. v.

¹¹ Greg. Tur. lib. vii. c. 37.

¹² Id. *Ibid.*

airs have occupied till lately so small a portion of its history. Both its original inhabitants, the Gauls, and its conquerors, the Romans and Franks, were conversant in navigation and naval tactics. The piratical and coasting fleets of the Franks are frequently referred to in the reigns of the earlier Roman emperors: they often scoured and plundered the coasts of Gaul; and, on one occasion, are said even to have ravaged the coast of Asia, to have taken Syracuse, and to have rendered themselves formidable to every other maritime power¹³.

It is unnecessary to ascertain with precision the tribes who chiefly engaged in these sea excursions; we may almost take it for granted, that all the nations along the sea-coast, and the mouths of the great rivers, as the Rhine and the Elbe, were more or less expert in sailing and ship-building, and more or less engaged in piratical wars. The sea exploits of the Danes and Saxons are familiarly known. Tacitus records the skill of the Chauci, one of the cantons of the Franks, in managing their light ships: and Sidonius Apollinaris observes, that these maritime people, generally between the Rhine and the Elbe, being accustomed on board their ships to command and obey alternately, were perfectly skilled in the art of navigation. No other ship could either overtake, or escape them. They were rather hardened than intimidated by shipwreck; and instead of confining themselves within their harbours during a tempest, they then pushed to sea and surprised their enemies.

The Romans had existed near five hundred years, before Appius Claudius prevailed on them to fit out a fleet. The Carthaginians, from whom

¹³ Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxvii. Nazar. in Panegy. Constant.

they

they probably derived the art of building and navigating ships, chiefly experienced the awful effects of their naval power. Their ships of war were managed by oars, and rated, with respect to size and force, by the number of benches or tiers, one above another, of rowers, which were employed in navigating them. Those of two benches on each side, were called *biremes*; of three, *triremes*; of four, *quadriremes*: and they had few above five, or *quinqueremes*. The oars were longer, proportioned to the height of the benches one above another; and a long and heavy oar must have required a proportionally greater number of men to work it.

The ships were armed with a sharp beak, *rostrum*, which they were accustomed to run against those of the enemy. They were also generally furnished with towers and engines, whence the men discharged stones, and various kinds of missile weapons. They were at the same time so covered, except at the prow and stern, as to afford the people protection both from the tempest and the enemy.

They were built for immediate use, of the readiest timber, however green: and a fleet was sometimes laid on the stocks, launched, equipped, and manned, in five or six weeks. As they were unacquainted with the mariner's compass, and the other means now known of calculating directions and distances, they seldom ventured out of the sight of land.

The Romans for the most part frequented the Mediterranean, and its bays and gulphs; but, for the reasons already mentioned, they found it likewise necessary to maintain a powerful fleet occasionally on the coasts, and in the great rivers which flow into the German and Atlantic ocean. In sea-

fight, which they seldom attempted but in calm weather, they endeavoured to arrange their ships much in the same manner as they did the legions or phalanx in land-armies.

To pierce and sink with the *rostrum*, to entangle the oars, to grapple with hooks of iron made for the purpose, which enabled them to attack, or board, with more firmness and safety; or to throw combustible matters, in order to harass or consume the enemy, were the principal modes of fighting by sea.

A ship of a hundred tons was thought very large; but there was one built by Ptolemy which is said to have been 420 feet long, or 7182 tons burden.

The Roman sailors were peculiarly superstitious. They never neglected, before they set sail, and again on their arrival, to offer due sacrifice and homage to the gods: but besides, they were extremely attentive to omens, to the first or last objects which they beheld.

Naval power
of the Bri-
ttons.

In the time of Cæsar, the Gauls along the western coast were famous and powerful by sea; the people of Brittany, whom he describes as the confederates of the Veneti, particularly excelled the other maritime states, both in the number of their ships, and in the skilful management of them. The Veneti had detained the Roman ambassadors and thrown them into prison, and trusted that, from the nature of their situation and their maritime strength, they were able to do it with impunity. The nature of their country, which was much intersected by gulphs and rivers, they thought must obstruct the march of the Roman troops; they knew that the Romans had no fleet to contend with them, and were assured, and expected, that being in want of provision, they could not remain in the country, or attempt

attempt any thing against them successfully either by sea or land. Their own ships were flat-bottomed, and capable of advancing inland, far beyond the Roman gallies, which were heavy and of a deep draught, on shores too which are flat, and on the recess of the tides, when the water is shallow; their prow and stern rose high above the water, suited to the open and tempestuous ocean to which they were exposed. Their ships were built of oak, whereas the Romans were accustomed to build theirs of fir, and that often in a very green state; their cross beams, reaching from one side of the ship to the other, were a foot thick, and bound into the sides with strong iron bolts. Their anchors and cables were iron; they used skins for sails, as much more durable than canvass; and seemed, in every thing but rowing, more than a match for the Romans.

Cæsar expeditiously collected a fleet against them. Two hundred and twenty ships came out of their ports to oppose him, completely manned and equipped for war. They trusted to their sails, and he to his rowers. Their high prows and sterns covered them from his archers, and from the other missile weapons that were darted even from the towers of the Roman gallies: their oaken and iron strength was proof against the shock of the Roman rostrum. They seemed at first invulnerable, till the Romans contrived iron hooks, which, being attached to ropes, they threw upon the sail-yards or haul-yards of the Veneti; then rowing briskly, cut or broke them, and brought down their sails. Their means of escape being thus destroyed, the Romans grappled them, and far excelling them in fighting hand to hand, subdued them; added to this, a dead calm ensued, which gave the Romans opportunity and leisure to attack them singly, by which means they

were all either taken or destroyed. This is said to have been the first battle ever fought on the Atlantic Ocean ¹⁴.

The naval
power of the
Phoceans
at Mar-
seilles.

On the side of the Mediterranean, Gaul was rendered very early famous in naval history by the Grecian colony which settled at Marseilles. The Ionians having, by their great nautical skill and experience, acquired the dominion of the Egean sea, had set some of the greatest powers of Asia at defiance, and particularly provoked the indignation of Cyrus. He resolved to attack singly the several states of that confederacy, and so gradually either to exterminate or subdue them. The Phoceans, one of the states whom he first threatened, seeing their danger, and determined to desert their country rather than lose their liberty, collected all their people and effects on board a numerous fleet, and sailed, as was not uncommon in those times, in quest of new settlements. They directed their course along the coasts of Greece and Italy, and settled some time in Tuscany, during the reign, and with the concurrence, of Tarquinius Superbus, about six hundred years before the Christian æra. Dissatisfied with this country, however, they went next to the south, probably Granada, of Spain; thence they returned to the mouth of the Rhone, and finally settled at Marseilles. Their frequent piracies provoked both the Tuscans and Carthaginians to unite against them; a pitched battle at last took place. The confederate fleet amounted to an hundred and twenty ships; the fleet of the Phoceans, now the Marseillians, was scarcely half that number; yet they ventured to meet the enemy, and fought them near Sardinia. The battle was bloody and obstinate, many ships were taken

¹⁴ Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 9—15.

and destroyed on both sides, but the Marseillians obtained the victory. Their fleet being almost annihilated, they gave over their piracies, turned their attention more to territorial protection and cultivation, secured the friendship of the Romans, and in process of time became a great and flourishing colony¹⁵.

We meet with only a few detached facts in naval affairs, after the settlement of the Franks in Gaul, during the first and second race; yet these shew that none of the tribes on the sea-coasts had neglected the practice of navigation, or lost their former habits of experience and hardihood.

State of
naval affairs
under the
first race.

When the Danish pirates sailed up the Meuse, and plundered the country betwixt that river and the Rhine, A. D. 520, Thierry, the king of Austrasia, soon equipped a fleet sufficiently large, which, accompanied with an army, attacked them both by sea and land. He killed Cochiliac their leader, took almost all their ships, liberated the people whom they were carrying away prisoners, and restored all the plunder to its former owners¹⁶.

In the war betwixt France and Spain, during the reign of Gontran, A. D. 585, his fleet sailed from the Rhone, and scouring the coasts of Galicia, was unexpectedly encountered by the fleet of Levigilde, the king of that country, and almost all taken or destroyed¹⁷.

There are allusions after this, during the Italian wars, and in the time of Charles Martel, to the fleets of France, and to their power in the Mediterranean; but they are stated so briefly and obscurely by Fredegaire and his continuators, that we

¹⁵ Herodot. Clio, cap. 162. Justin Hist. lib. xliii.

¹⁶ Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 3. Gest. Franc. c. 19.

¹⁷ P. Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 216.

can form no distinct idea of their condition or magnitude.

Under the
second race.

Under Charlemagne we ought to expect something more precise and magnificent on this subject. His vast empire, bounded almost on every side by the seas and ocean, and often attacked by the neighbouring nations, and particularly by the Normans and Saracens, must have directed his attention to naval enterprise, and required him to fit out on different sides considerable naval armaments.

He was generally successful against the Saracens, particularly when they attempted a descent on the islands of Sardinia and Corsica¹⁸; but though he always routed the Normans, yet he appears to have remained under great apprehensions, lest they should one day become too powerful to be resisted by the more slow and feeble exertions of his successors. "If they thus insult us, whilst I am living," said he to his son Lewis, "and whilst the empire is entire, what may they not do when it shall be divided after my death?"¹⁹ He left no means therefore neglected which could keep in awe the Greeks and Saracens, and particularly the Normans. He placed two fleets in the north seas, to watch and oppose their motions²⁰; and another large fleet in the Mediterranean, to check the depredations of the Moors or Saracens; besides smaller squadrons, which he placed in all the rivers and ports along the coasts of the empire, from the Elbe to the ocean, and from Spain to the Po in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas. He visited them in person, ordained the counts of the several districts to provide abundance of stores and arms, and to be

¹⁸ Eginhart. in *Annal.* ad ann. 799.

¹⁹ Monach. *Sangal. lib. ii. c. 2.*

²⁰ Herman. *Schmink. Not. ad c. 17.* Eginhart. *Vit. Carol. Mag.*

ready on all occasions, at a moment's notice, to sail against the enemy. His principal arsenal was at Boulogne, where he repaired and maintained a light-house, originally built by the emperor Caligula, and which was illuminated every night²¹.

We find no particular information respecting the materials, the structure, the navigation, or mode of naval warfare, under either the first or second race. It is probable, that the different parts of the empire would retain the ancient naval habits to which we find they were accustomed both before and under the Romans. The people of Brittany, and along that coast, would continue to build their vessels of oak, and navigate them with sails. The ships of Marseilles, and of that coast, were likely to resemble those of Greece, which were not essentially different from those of Rome; for the Romans learned the arts of ship-building and navigation from Greece and Carthage²².

²¹ Eginhart. Vit. Carol. Mag. et id. in Annal. ad ann. 808.

²² Tho. Rivii Hist. Naval. lib. i. c. 14.

CHAP. IV.

The History of Literature in France, from Clovis, A. D. 486, to the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

SECT. I.

Of Literature.

THE revolutions of learning before the death of Charlemagne, are numerous and interesting.

Learning of
the Druids.

The Druids were the philosophers, as well as the priests, of ancient Gaul; they committed all their knowledge to memory, and nothing to writing; and therefore, excepting in a few things handed down imperfectly, we must remain for ever ignorant of their real opinions, and the extent of their knowledge.

They professed to be acquainted with both physics and metaphysics. Cicero mentions respectfully Divitiacus the Æduan, with whom he had conversed, as learned in those subjects¹. Cæsar informs us, that the Druids philosophised concerning the stars and their motions, the earth, and the universe, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods². And Strabo says, they taught that the world was eternal, and though it undergoes various changes by water and fire, that it shall never be utterly destroyed³.

¹ De Divinit. lib. i. c. 41. ² Lib. vi. c. 13. ³ Lib. iv.
Some

Some writers, however, have, from hints and conjectures, reared for the Druids, a system of opinions which, it is most probable, they never entertained, and have hypothetically ascribed to them the knowledge of the whole circle of science and art. They have imagined them to be such astronomers as to have been able to calculate the cycle, or the return of the heavenly bodies, after their periodical revolution, to the same relative point or station: that they had instruments answering the same end as our telescopes, by which they could perceive the mountains of the moon: that arithmetic was familiar to them, because tablets were found in the Helvetian camp, containing lists and numerations of the people: and that they were good geometricians, because, in case of any difference being appealed to them concerning marches or boundaries, they were accustomed to settle it⁴.

The vast masses of stone with which they have formed their temples or altars, and of which some examples still remain, seem to indicate considerable experience, at least, in the use of mechanical powers.

Their knowledge and practice of medicine, was rather empirical and magical, than scientific. The viscous substance which they composed of the mistletoe, and which Pliny represents them as gathering with so much superstition, was their principal medicine⁵.

Their moral doctrine may be summed up in three short sentences, which cannot be condemned; That the gods ought to be worshipped; that beneficence is the duty of man; and that fortitude ought to be cultivated, and duly exercised, in circumstances of distress or danger.

⁴ The good Benedictines, the authors of the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, have proceeded too much in this conjectural manner. Tom. i.

⁵ *Hist. Nat. lib. xvii. c. 44.*

Their

Their schools, which they kept in the recesses of forests, were chiefly frequented by the youth of noble families, who accounted it an honour to attend them many years. The teachers were handsomely paid for their trouble, and might therefore encourage the children of the people of rank to attend them.

The similarity of the Druidical or Celtic doctrines and superstition to those of the east, has induced some learned and judicious writers to assign to the eastern and western nations one common origin. From the northern extremities of Asia, it is said, came not only the Scythians and Pannonians, but also the ancient inhabitants of Germany, Gaul, and the other western countries of Europe. The mind may acquiesce the more readily in this opinion, that it is agreeable to the account which Sacred History gives of the origin of ancient nations, and that though we were disposed to controvert that account, we have nothing more probable to substitute in its room.

Of the
Greeks at
Marseilles.

The Phœcean colony settled at Marseilles, was likely to have imported with them the elements at least of Grecian literature. When the Romans first discovered them, they were charmed with their situation and manners, as well as with their advancement in art and science.

Their temper was gentle, and their behaviour polite and engaging. Plautus employs their name proverbially, to express the most regular and irreproachable conduct; and Cicero thought them preferable, not only to the other nations of Greece, but of the world.

They had public schools instituted for teaching eloquence, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, jurisprudence, and theology, as they were known and taught in their parent country, Ionia; and there

there was nothing they feared so much as armed strangers and foreign religious opinions, which they dreaded as dangerous to the peace and security of their infant state.

The Romans admired their genius and skill in the structure and form of their city, in the convenience of their harbour, in the culture and fertility of their lands, in their policy, and in their literature. They courted alliance with them, frequented their schools, preferred Marseilles to Athens, and conferred on them the privilege of Roman citizens. Many eminent Romans came to reside among them, for pleasure as well as the cultivation of science. The citizens of Marseilles were highly respected at Rome, where, being patronised and promoted, they became eminent in every profession, and were often preferred to the first offices of the state⁶.

But though these Greeks and the Romans mutually respected and esteemed each other, the balance of accommodation naturally preponderated on the side of patronage and power. The south of France was a fine country, and its inhabitants were a polished and learned people; but it was comparatively a province, and in fact, in the 629th year of Rome, it was reduced to that state. To the metropolis, every one who was animated by ambition directed his attention; and therefore, though the Romans accommodated themselves to these colonists, and imitated and acquired from them the knowledge of every thing in which they excelled, yet they more generally submitted to their patrons the Romans. Hence whatever was of a temporary or fluctuating nature, yielded its

⁶ *Insignes viros à Gallia Narbonensi transfuisse.* Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. 24.

form gradually to the superior power; and the language, dress, arts, and manners of the Greeks, at last, gave way to those of the Romans.

Some things, indeed, of a more fixed or less versatile nature, either remained without alteration, or required more force than the mere influence of accommodation. Architecture underwent little or no change; and Vitruvius, the most eminent of Roman architects, founds that art entirely on Grecian taste and principles. Language yielded partly to accommodation, and partly to Imperial authority and law. The Latin tongue only was ordained to be used in all the courts of justice, and every young person, whose ambition or vanity aspired to respect or office, necessarily studied to excel in the language of the court.

Extends
over the
country.

The mutual admiration, however, of the two countries, and their respective ambition to excel, increased the common ardor for learning, and contributed to excite a general literary emulation in all the neighbouring cities and countries. Narbonne sent from its schools, men who were eminent in their various professions, as poets, orators, and statesmen. Arles was famous, not only for its schools and commerce, but for having become occasionally the residence of several of the emperors. Vienne was considered as the metropolis of the Allobroges; Eusebius calls it the illustrious metropolis of the Gauls⁷. Thoulouse, which became the capital of the kingdom of the Visigoths, is represented as sufficiently populous to furnish colonies for four other large cities, and also abounded in men of rank and literary reputation. Autun was active in extending the Roman government over the more northern tribes and cities, and was recompensed by several important

⁷ Lib. v. c. i.

immunities. The fame of its schools was celebrated in the reign of Tiberius. Lyons is said to have been founded later than the other cities which have been mentioned, yet before the middle of the first century it was almost as populous as Narbonne. Being central, it was the ordinary residence of the Roman prefect in Gaul. Agrippa formed three great military roads to it; one leading from the Rhine; another from Aquitania, or the country of the Garonne; and a third from the north country about the Seine. It was of course a place of great resort, and particularly distinguished among the other cities of Gaul. Nor was Nîmes much inferior to any of the cities which have been mentioned, in the privileges which it enjoyed; or in the fruits of learning which it produced. And Bourdeaux, the last, is said not to have been the least in population and literary eminence*. From these cities the learning of Greece and Rome spread, though with an inferior lustre, over the rest of Gaul.

With respect to the nature of the colleges, or schools, in Gaul, in those times to which we refer, and the manner in which education was conducted, it appears that they began with the study of Greek and Latin grammar, in order to speak and write it correctly. There were masters appointed for all who chose to study poetry. The ancient Greek philosophy was next generally studied; but the system of the middle academy, and of the Stoics, chiefly prevailed among the Romans: the former was preferred by Cicero, and the latter by Cato. Several of the Romans respected the Peripatetic philosophy, but justly complained of its obscurity. Epicurus had some disciples among them. Lucretius, who

Order of
study.

* Hist. Lit. de la Fr. tom. i. p. 48—52.

was often insane, unfolded the Epicurean system in that poem *de Rerum Natura*, which he wrote during his lucid intervals. After philosophy, the Roman youth applied themselves to the study of rhetoric and history⁹.

There is no doubt that this was also the method observed in Gaul; for in respect of education, the two countries were as one; and on many occasions, indeed, Gaul was preferred to Italy. It was the great nursery especially of lawyers and orators, and Juvenal calls it, the eloquent Gaul¹⁰:

Gallia causidicos docuit sacunda Britannos.

The Gallic schools seemed the high road to honour and power; they were of course multiplied, and extended in every direction over the country, furnishing the metropolis of the world with some of her most eloquent orators and wisest magistrates.

Causes of
the decline
of learning.

But there is a point of eminence, as well as of depression, from which human affairs naturally return. There are causes of restraint, which, though unperceived, begin to operate, before the ascending body has reached its utmost height. Augustus ordained that the Roman law should be the rule of government and justice in Gaul: he appointed prætors, præfects or proconsuls, quæstors, and other officers, agreeably to the constitution of the Roman empire; and he commanded that the Latin should be the only language used in the courts of justice. Such restraints must have contributed somewhat to damp the spirit of learning. Besides, the people of rank and learning had one language, the common people descended of the ancient Greeks another, and the ancient Gauls of Celtic origin had a third¹¹.

Confusion
of tongues.

⁹ Hist. Lit. de la Fr. tom. i. p. 53—70.

¹⁰ Tacitus seems to include the whole circle of education when he says, "*Nobilissimam Galliarum sobolem liberalibus studiis ibi operatam.*"

¹¹ Hist. Lit. de la Fr. tom. i. c. 88.

Three languages so very different, all used in the same country, must have produced confusion and corruption.

Vanity, and the love of singularity, soon after introduced the affectation of various false or excessive ornaments into eloquence. Tacitus and Pliny, however elegant and amiable their writings, may be given as examples, of affected energy and elegance degenerating into quaintness and obscurity.

Love of
singularity.

Petronius Arbitrator, to whom morality is not much otherwise indebted, has however observed a third cause of the decline of learning, in the neglect of parents in the education of their children. Perhaps he carries it too far, when he traces it even to the unnatural abandoning of infants to foreign nurses of the lowest rank; but undoubtedly there is much room for censuring the general inattention of parents to the importance of duly disciplining the temper and manners, as well as of early forming the language, of their own children. When they commit them to the charge of other tutors, however well qualified, they may be considered as either punishing them with a kind of exile, which often sours the young mind, embitters enjoyment, and restrains genius; or, by admitting them to their presence only during the time, or for the purpose of enjoyment, they induce a habit of dissatisfaction with the more severe discipline and uninteresting occupation of their tutor. Learning becomes a fatigue: company, festivity, shews, every kind and degree of sensual gratification, when associated with their parents, are the supreme objects of desire, and the constant subjects of their thoughts and pursuit. Hence learning declines, in proportion as children are indulged by their parents, or parental discipline is neglected.

Inattention
to early
education
and parental
discipline.

Vanity of
teachers.

A fourth cause of the decline of learning among the Romans in Gaul, was the selfishness of teachers. When their object was not so much to improve their scholars, as to obtain applause for themselves; and that not on account of their art and success in teaching, but for their bombast and inflated style, which they supposed to be elegance; and their pompous manner, which they believed to be true dignity; how could they produce any other effect than either disgust or false taste?

Education
too rapid.

It may be added with justice, that the young people were pushed forward too rapidly from one branch of education to another; so that the structure was thought to be reared, before the foundation was properly laid. The young orator appeared at the bar a master of eloquence, before he had made himself acquainted with either grammar or philosophy.

Frequent
civil wars.

The civil wars which broke out so frequently on the succession of emperors, and which sometimes so generally agitated the empire, interrupted the progress of literature, and bent the thoughts habitually to other pursuits and enquiries. While several candidates were contending each to ascend the Imperial throne, the provinces were deluged with the blood of the opposite parties. When the lives, liberties, and property of the people were in constant and imminent danger, there could be neither leisure nor inclination for speculation or study.

Irruption of
the barba-
rians.

The irruption of the various tribes of Barbarians into the empire, finally contributed to disturb philosophical enquiry.

Rise and
progress of
Christian
learning.

In the mean time, new subjects of knowledge were communicated to men. The Gospel of Jesus Christ drew away the attention gradually from doubtful philosophical speculations, and established on reasonable and satisfactory evidence
the

the great and interesting doctrines and duties of religion.

The Author of the Gospel was early classed among philosophers, both by his enemies and friends; and though he certainly holds a far superior rank, yet if philosophy be wisdom, the Gospel is superlative wisdom, and instead of rejecting the term, Christians might rather claim an exclusive right to it; for surely it is calculated, above all systems, to enlighten the understanding, and to interest and purify the heart. It addresses with the sanctions of Supreme authority, and overawes the imagination and passions, while it gradually subdues and regulates them. Other systems abound with error, and have little or no influence on the mind and conduct of those who profess to hold them; but "the wisdom that is from above, is pure and peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and of good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."

As the origin of the Gospel was divine, so was the power which at first accompanied it. The Apostles therefore disclaimed the character of philosophers, having neither invented the doctrines which they taught, nor trusted in their own genius or learning as the means of recommending them. They only preached Christianity with simplicity and zeal, travelling extensively for the purpose of making it known, and relying for its success on the wisdom and power of its heavenly Author, who had commissioned them to publish it.

Nor had they reason to be ashamed of their trust. Their success was great and extensive. They were opposed in almost every quarter by all orders of men, and were often persecuted, even to imprisonment and death; yet their doctrines prevailed, and the Gospel was finally ac-

known to be the established religion of the Roman empire.

*Causes of
the decline
of learning
among
Christians.*

This heavenly system, however, which became a great occasion of human speculation and learning, though in itself so pure and incorruptible, had, in the progress of time, innumerable errors and monstrous absurdities attached to it. Every man and body of men, whose minds had been strongly and habitually impressed with their former systems of religion or philosophy, on embracing Christianity either involuntarily retained their former bias and habits, and mingled them with the faith and practice of the Gospel, or designedly and ingeniously traced a resemblance betwixt their former and present opinions and worship, and endeavoured to incorporate them. Others agreed to this incorporating plan the more readily, in hopes that they might induce many to become Christians. In this manner the Jews long aimed zealously to unite their traditions and ritual with the doctrines and ordinances of the Gospel, and so far as they succeeded, they furnished it with a drapery which has through ages disfigured it. The other nations, on their conversion, with equal prejudices and pride brought with them their dogmas and superstitious customs, and insinuated or forced many of them into the Christian church. The apostles ¹² and Christian fathers zealously opposed these innovations and corruptions ¹³, while their authors and partisans as zealously supported and defended them.

*Mixture of
Jewish and
Heathen
rites and
opinions.*

Controversy.

Hence a new species of learning commenced and prevailed over the world, wherever the Gospel was known in Asia, Europe, and Africa, which consisted in publishing and controverting, in recom-

¹² Coloss. ch. ii.

¹³ Irenæus contra Hær.

mending and impugning, the Jewish and Heathen doctrines and customs, as foreign to the pure spirit and native simplicity of Christianity. Such were the writings of Justin Martyr in Syria, of Tertullian in Africa, and of Irenæus in Gaul, in favour of Christianity; and of Celsus and Porphyry, in opposition to it.

Early educated in the schools of their respective countries, the Christian Apologists retained some veneration for several of their early opinions and religious rites. While they generally exposed the errors of the Jewish and Grecian philosophy, they fondly admitted certain ideas and ceremonies in which they imagined a suitable or useful analogy. Some of them were even zealous to collect those scattered portions of philosophy which seemed to illustrate the divine nature, or to augment the veneration of men for the Christian worship. With this view, men of this temper came to be distinguished by the name of Eclectics.

The Eclectics justified their conduct, by the belief that every thing valuable in the ancient philosophy had some time or other been borrowed from either traditional or written revelation; and the different sects of philosophers were favoured by them, according to the opinion which they entertained of the similarity of their tenets to the doctrines of revealed religion. Plato was most esteemed by them; Epicurus only was without a patron among the Christian fathers. Eusebius quotes many passages from Plato, to show the resemblance of his sentiments to many of the doctrines of Scripture¹⁶; and Augustine insists, not only that Plato was preferable to every other Heathen writer, but that he was a Christian philosopher. Hence the facility

Eclectics.

¹⁶ Preparat. Evang.

with which a coalition was attempted to be formed betwixt Plato and Jesus Christ, even by Justin Martyr, and others of the greatest respectability among the Fathers; and hence the general success which attended the Platonic philosophy in the Christian Church.

While the Christian writers thus disfigured the simplicity and beauty of the Gospel by means of human philosophy, they also contributed greatly towards the decline of true learning, by their careless and superficial mode of arguing, their want of arrangement, and general inattention to style. They discovered great learning, it is true, and often afforded specimens of true eloquence; but their zeal as frequently marred their judgment, and in the heat of controversy they appeared more eager to combat their adversary, than to study the suitableness of their weapons, or the most dextrous and successful mode of managing them. Their credulity sometimes laid hold of reports, instead of facts; their ardor substituted assertion for argument; their impatience neglected the more deliberate, regular, and satisfactory methods of reasoning; and purity of language, and correctness of style, in their temper and circumstances, seemed to some of them wholly unworthy of attention.

Neglect of
physics.

Engrossed with theological and metaphysical discussions, they wanted both leisure and inclination for physical enquiries. Eusebius says, it is not from our ignorance of physics, or of natural causes, that we almost entirely neglect them; but from a conviction that, however much they may be admired, they are useless, compared to the more important pursuits in which we labour⁴⁵. Hence the rapidity with which this branch of learning de-

⁴⁵ Prepar. Evang. lib. xv. c. 1. 16.

clined;

clined; till we find Ambrose bishop of Milan, and Gregory the bishop of Tours, speaking of the most ordinary appearances of nature, like children.

In the course of a few centuries, indeed, learning seemed to be discarded by the world, took refuge in the monasteries, and assumed a monkish habit, through a long and dreary night of darkness, till the dawn of reformation; but monkish learning will be considered with more propriety in an after-period.

Such is the general view of the state of literature in Gaul before the reign of Clovis. The writers of any celebrity in Gaul during the same period, were by no means numerous.

Authors.

Publius Terentius Varro, the poet and historian, was the cotemporary and friend of some of the most eminent of the Roman poets. Virgil highly esteemed him, and is said even to have borrowed both thoughts and phrases from his works. He was born at a small town near Narbonne, many years before the Christian æra.

P. Ter.
Varro.

Trogus Pompeius, whose history remains only in the Abridgment of Justin, was born near Vaison, in Provence, about forty or fifty years before Christ.

Trog. Pom-
peius.

Eutropius, the historian, was born near Bourdeaux, towards the end of the third century.

Eutropius.

The principal Christian writers in Gaul during the same period, were,

Irenæus, a native of Asia Minor; who was born about A.D. 130. He was the disciple of Polycarp, the cotemporary of John the Apostle. He preached the Gospel with such zeal and success in Gaul, that he was chosen and appointed bishop of Lyons. His principal work, was his Five Books against the Heresies prevalent in his time.

Irenæus.

Ausonius, the rhetorician and poet, was born at Bourdeaux about A.D. 309. He wrote several

Ausonius.

books,

books, which shew his genius; and the great confidence placed in him by the emperors Valentinian and Gratian, and the high honours to which they raised him in the state, are proofs that his prudence and judgment in political matters were not inferior to his poetical talents.

Ambrose.

Ambrose was born at Lyons A. D. 340; he was first educated as a lawyer, but by the general persuasion of the people of Milan, he became their bishop. His works are numerous; and some of them, as that intitled "Looking unto Jesus," &c. are generally known and still esteemed.

S. Severus.

S. Severus Sulpitius was a bishop in Aquitain: his diocese is not mentioned. He was born towards the close of the fourth century. His principal works are; his Sacred History, from the beginning of the world to his own times; and his Life of Martin, bishop of Tours.

T. Cassian.

Whether the monk Cassian was a native of Syria or of Gaul, is not known, though the latter is thought most probable; it is certain that he settled at Marseilles in the beginning of the fifth century: there he founded two monasteries; one for men, and the other for women. His principal works were, his Institutions and Conferences on the Semipelagian Controversy, and on Monastic Order and Discipline.

Tiro Prosper.

Tiro Prosper was a native of Aquitania about the middle of the fifth century. He was a zealous opponent of the Pelagians, both in his conduct and writings. He wrote in verse, as well as in prose. His principal poem is *De Ingratis*, Of the Ungrateful; which is the character he ascribes to the Pelagians and Semipelagians, because they denied the grace which God so freely bestows.

Cl. Mamertus.

Claudianus Mamertus, a priest of the church of Vienne, is much celebrated by his personal friend
Sidonius

Sidonius Apollinaris. He flourished after the middle of the fifth century, and wrote three books on the State and Nature of the Soul, against Faustus Regienfis, who had denied its immateriality, and of course its immortality¹⁵.

We cannot but remark, in concluding this subject, that considering how much the *Provincia Romana*, Provence, was celebrated for its schools, even as the nursery of learning for the Roman state, it has produced comparatively but a very few eminent writers, either Christian or profane.

SECT. II.

Of Learning, from the Conquest of Gaul by Clovis, to the Death of Charlemagne.

THE distraction of mind which the incursions of the Barbarians into Gaul occasioned, was not the only adverse effect which they produced on learning. The fear of their approach, their actual hostilities, the general awe which they must for some time have impressed on the mind, even after they settled in the country, could not fail to draw off the attention from any serious occupation, and give a general interruption to the progress of learning still remaining in Gaul.

Learning continues to decline;

by the invasion,

The government which they assumed over the country, and their general mixture with the inhabitants, introduced new habits and customs, unfavourable to literature. In so far as the Gauls yielded to them, they certainly degenerated from the state of refinement to which they had been

by the settlement,

¹⁵ Cave Hist. Liter. Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Hist. Liter. de la Fr.

some time accustomed under the Roman government ; or if the barbarous nations, whether Burgundians, Goths, or Franks, attempted any conformity to the Gauls, it could be but an awkward and rude imitation : in either case therefore, learning, arts, and manners, must have declined. The three different regions where these several nations settled, retained each somewhat of its former character ; but all of them, from the accession of the barbarians, received a darker tinge.

and language of the Franks, &c.

The language of the country was sensibly affected : already it had undergone considerable changes, by the intercourse and government of the Greeks and Romans : the Celtic and Greek tongue had both yielded much to the Latin. Now though the latter still prevailed, yet it was corrupted, both in writing and pronunciation, by the mixture of these several new and foreign nations. Avitus bishop of Vienne, so early as the beginning of the sixth century, complains that it was vain to write poetry, since the people were become incapable of reading what was written in verse : and sixty years after, Gregory of Tours bewails the ignorance of the people in his times, who had altogether lost the knowledge of letters. In the language and style of this historian, though superior to that of some of his contemporaries, we perceive a sensible decay of learning.

By the increase of superstition

Superstition and credulity advanced, as literature receded. The most ordinary events and appearances were deemed miraculous by the common people ; and the clergy, and some men of a superior class, took advantage of their ignorance and easy faith, to impose on them and overawe them, or to entertain and soothe them. The writing of the lives of martyrs and saints of former ages, became the chief occupation of the more learned and

and industrious among the clergy; and in composing them, they indulged freely, whether from design or from their own belief, in storing them with most wonderful tales, and accounts of miracles. Legends were even invented by the ingenious and artful, to dupe or amuse the people; to augment their respect and veneration for the church; to secure their dependence on the bishops, and to enlarge their offerings, and general disposition to devout liberality and religious confidence.

This superstitious and credulous temper was nourished and maintained, not only by the relation of past wonders, but by the apparent performance, in their presence, of many great and astonishing miracles. The most inveterate diseases were pretended, or fancied, to be cured, by touching relics, and by visiting tombs; important discoveries were believed to be made, by clerical dreams; victories were clearly understood to be obtained over superior armies, by particular prayers; and future events were supposed to be distinctly foretold, by observing, on entering a church, the lines of a psalm which the congregation happened at the time to be singing. Such habits as these, being prevalent over a country, prove not merely an ignorance of the ordinary laws of nature, and the operations of cause and effect; but a depravity, and almost a total dereliction of reason.

Nor did this degree of ignorance and credulity prevail among the common people only; it had invaded the church, and subjected the very bishops to its power. Some of them were artful, but by far the greater part were ignorant and credulous. If Gregory bishop of Tours, the first and best historian of the nation in those times, could believe and record such follies and absurdities as we read in almost every page of his history, what could we expect

among all
ranks.

expect from men of still less ability and observation? He narrates, with the utmost gravity and credit, the miraculous cures supposed to have been performed by relics, or at the tomb of St. Martin; the awful consequences, political and moral, which he thought were certainly to follow an eclipse of the sun or moon, the shooting of a meteor, the coruscations of the *Aurora borealis*, the real or fancied tremblings of the earth, or the inundation of a river.

The mind seems through disuse to have lost its power of arrangement in treating of the subjects on which they attempted to write. Authors either adhered rigidly to mere chronological order, or expressed their ideas according to the accidental associations in which they occurred to them. When they aimed at ingenuity, they ran into conceit; if they studied the sublime, it became bombast; and, in short, their eloquence was turgid, full of words, and void of meaning.

They were negligent sometimes even of the ordinary rules of grammar, classing indiscriminately genders, masculine, feminine, or neuter, adjectives and nouns; substituting any case of a noun, or tense or mood of a verb, for another.

Corruption
of language.

When they forgot the proper classical words and phrases, which was soon the consequence of not being familiarly acquainted with the authors of the Augustan age, they adopted such other words and phrases as were more familiar; introducing Frank and Gothic words, to which they gave Latin terminations, and the idioms of these foreign languages, for the more elegant Latin construction.

Attempts to
revive learn-
ing.

Attempts were occasionally made to revive learning; but they naturally failed, because they were feeble, or ill-directed. Chilperic imagined that he was promoting the cause of literature, when
he

he tried to invent and introduce four new Greek or Hebrew letters ¹. Schools were established in the monasteries and cathedral churches, in which the languages, philosophy, and theology, were said to be taught; but the teachers being themselves destitute of science, judgment, and taste, could not be expected to succeed in communicating them to their scholars. The writings of the Fathers ² were their standard of elegance for Greek and Latin; a kind of magic and astrology was substituted for philosophy; and a little controversy, together with some knowledge of church music, religious ceremonies, and ecclesiastical privileges, formed the whole course of their theology. Much however depended on the bishop, or the abbot, who superintended the teachers, as well as on the teachers themselves; for we shall meet with something like exceptions, when we come to review the lives and writings of particular authors.

As we descend through the seventh century, we can expect no improvement in learning. The rivalry and jealousies of Brunehaut and Fredegonde, and the almost constant civil wars which followed, occupied the minds of men generally with other subjects than those of learning. The reign of Dagobert afforded a short respite, and darted a faint gleam athwart the darkness of the age. At first he loved learning, and respected learned men ³; but his love of pleasure prevailed, and contributed rather to bring a reproach not only on letters, but on the learned men whom he had professed to patronise. The weakness of the go-

The seventh century extremely dark.

¹ Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 45.

² Gregory the Great prohibited the reading of the classics, "because it was unfit that the same mouth should speak the praises of the true and of false gods."

³ Fredegar. Chr. c. 58.

vernment during the reign of the last Merovingian princes; the inter-reign of several years; the tyranny of the mayors; the civil wars; and the war against the Saracens, carried on by Charles Martel; were all unfavourable to study and learning: and so much did ignorance prevail, that the period from Dagobert to Charlemagne has been reckoned the darkest in the whole course of the history of France. A few monkish legends, a collection of letters by Boniface bishop of Mayence and others, and some attempts at versification, all bearing internal evidence of the ignorance and rudeness of the age, make up almost the whole catalogue of writings for more than a century.

One of the great employments of the monks and nuns in this age, was to write out, in that beautiful manner, in letters of gold and of various colours, of which many examples still remain, the Psalms of David, the Gospels, the whole Scriptures, and some other ancient compositions*. But in other respects, letters were so totally neglected, that the councils of the church repeatedly ordained, that the bishops and priests ought to know the canons of the church⁵; that they ought to be capable of writing a fair hand⁶; that they ought to know, and be able to read, their psalter, &c.⁷ And we may judge of the general state of letters in the country, from the great Charles himself not having been taught to write, till he acquired it by his own ambition for learning, after he was emperor, and considerably advanced in life.

Revival of learning by Charlemagne, under the direction of Alcuin, &c.

Under his patronage and direction however, literature revived. He invited Alcuin from England, Clement from Ireland, and other learned men wherever he found them, to come and institute

* Mabill. Pref. 655. n. 9-12.

⁵ Capitul. lib. i.

⁶ Id. ibid.

⁷ Ibid. lib. iv.

schools in France, to superintend the education of youth, and to take such other steps as were calculated to recover the spirit, and promote the study of learning: and during his life, his endeavours were not ineffectual¹.

For

¹ It is not unimportant to observe the method in which Alcuin conducted the education of those times, in order to its general restoration and establishment. He first recommended an accurate pronunciation and orthography, both which had been shamefully neglected in the preceding age. The scholar was then introduced to grammar, next to dialectics, then to rhetoric; and so forward, to the higher branches of philosophy.

But that we may better understand his divisions and their meaning, we shall translate his own words on the subject, from his *Treatise on Dialectics*. It is in the form of a dialogue; and the speakers are, himself and his pupil and patron, the emperor Charlemagne.

Alcuin's
method.

Chapter the First.

Charlemagne. Into how many parts is philosophy divided?

Alcuin. Into three, *viz.* physics, ethics, and logic.

C. Express these in Latin phrase.

A. Physics is natural philosophy; ethics is moral philosophy; and logic is rational philosophy, or the art of reasoning.

C. Explain their meaning more fully.

A. Physics is the investigation of natural causes; ethics, of the principles and order of the conduct of life; logic, the principles or method of understanding.

C. Into how many parts are physics divided?

A. Into four, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.

C. Into how many parts are ethics divided?

A. Into four also, *viz.* prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance.

C. Into how many parts is logic divided?

A. Into two, dialectics and rhetoric.

C. What is dialectics?

A. It is the art of inquiring, of defining, and of disputing or arguing.

C. What is the difference betwixt dialectic and rhetoric?

A. The same difference as between a closed and an open hand. The former contracts; the latter copiously enlarges the subject: the one is more acute to invent; the other more eloquent to address and persuade: the first requires retirement and study; the second, an audience: it may be one or more persons, or a crowded assembly.

Schools

For the purpose of teaching the various branches of education, Alcuin assisted the emperor in establishing schools, or colleges, in different cities of the empire: and if the university of Paris owe not its origin to their joint endeavours directly, their zeal at least appears to have inspired the people of that city then, or soon after, to erect that ancient and celebrated institution; for there is considerable evidence that it existed before the end of the ninth century⁹.

multiplied: Besides the academy of the palace, which some writers have imagined to be the origin of the university of Paris, but which seems rather to have been ambulatory with the court, Charlemagne, in the year 787, wrote a circular letter to all the metropolitan bishops, recommending them to take the proper steps for establishing schools in all their dioceses, and to be particularly careful to place proper teachers over them: two years after, he even prescribed rules for their administration and discipline. There were two kinds of schools:—one for teaching children the psalms, church-music, arithmetic, and grammar; the other, for teaching the more advanced youth, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, &c. Charlemagne was anxious to give all the schools and branches of education a bias towards religion; and he spared no pains, or cost, to bring suitable teachers, in all these branches of learning, from various countries, particularly from Italy¹⁰.

In the Second Chapter he divides dialectics into *isagoga*, or introduction; the categories or predicaments, *sylogisms*, topics, and *periermenia*, or interpretation.

He then proceeds, in his introduction, to treat of *genus*, *species*, *differentia*, &c. and afterwards of the categories, &c. as is usual in old systems of logic.

⁹ Hist. Liter. tom. iv. p. 10.

¹⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 11.

Some of the clergy encouraged and forwarded his plans with great zeal and success; among whom Leidrade archbishop of Lyons, and Theodulph bishop of Orleans, are particularly mentioned; the latter appears to have instituted a kind of parish schools, for the purpose of educating the youth in general, besides four schools of a higher rank. But, as might be expected in so numerous a class of men, some misunderstood the design; some were incapable of directing education, being themselves, even though bishops, uneducated; and others were indolent or fanatical. They either made no exertion, or spent all their zeal and labour in teaching the children merely to chant, instead of to understand the daily lessons of the church."

Various
successfully.

In order to rouse even the clergy, and to form their habits to learning, Charlemagne proposed in writing, questions in history, and especially in ecclesiastical history, which he expected them to answer also in writing; and the consequences and effects of so many schools, and incitements to education and study, began in a short time to be visible over the empire.

Farther zeal
of the em-
peror in pro-
moting
learning.

Charlemagne, notwithstanding the multitude of business with which he must have been constantly occupied in the government of so vast an empire, found leisure to visit in person many of these schools, to hear the youth examined, and to reproach or commend them according to their diligence and progress. On one occasion we find him in the school of Clement, whom we have already observed he had invited from Ireland to settle in France. The youth of an inferior rank performed their business well, but those of a superior order had been very negligent, and were ill-prepared.

²¹ Hist. Liter. tom. iv. p. 12, 13.

He placed the former on his right hand, and thanked them: "Continue," said he, "my children, to improve yourselves, and you shall be rewarded: I will raise you to stations, and to offices of rank and power. But as for you," turning to the other young men, whom he had placed on his left hand, and frowning, "you delicate sons of noble birth, and expectants of great property, in which you place too much confidence, you have thought it unnecessary to respect either my command or your own reputation and interest: fonder of play, or of idleness, than of learning, you have spent your time in idleness and vain amusement. But know," added he, with a tremendous look, as he raised the arm which had gained so many victories, "that neither your birth nor your handsome persons shall avail you, unless you speedily redeem the time by attention, which you have lost by negligence¹²."

Under such a prince, education and literature, religion and liberty, would have flourished, had his life been prolonged; or they ought to have continued to prosper through the following ages, had his successors inherited, with his dominions, his spirit and talents.

Meantime the revival of learning, even to the degree which he effected, was attended with the happiest consequences. It was the means of preventing the literature of former times from being entirely lost; and it laid the foundation of institutions, which, though long after neglected or little regarded, gradually rose in after-times to eminence, and though late, diffused knowledge and science universally over the kingdom.

¹² Sangallensis apud Canisium, vol. ii. p. 58.

Had the same inattention to orthography and writing continued, which prevailed during the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries, ancient manuscripts must have perished; those of that age would have become illegible, either from the spelling or writing; and following ages, from a want of teachers, would have become altogether incapable of either reading or writing.

SECT. III.

Biographical Sketches of some of the most distinguished Authors in France, from Clovis to Charlemagne.

THE design of the preceding section was to give a continued narration of the state of learning, and to assign the probable causes of its progress and decline: it is now proposed to introduce the learned men of the period of which we treat, and their works, more familiarly to our acquaintance than could have been done with propriety in the former section, or in any other part of the work. To some it may seem foreign to the design of general history, and in more modern times it would certainly become both too extensive and less necessary; but in a period so remote, it cannot but be interesting to many to know more intimately the men to whom we are chiefly indebted for our information of those times, imperfect as it is; and to have submitted to our judgment specimens of their genius and writings, in their own words. I hazard the experiment; and may repeat it or not in a subsequent period, according as it shall or shall not be generally approved.

Learned
men.

C. S. Apoll.
Sidonius.

Caius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius rather preceded the reign of Clovis, for he was born at Lyons the 5th of November A. D. 430, and died A. D. 482; or, according to others, A. D. 488. But he was so nearly coeval with Clovis, and was so eminent in that age, that it appears highly proper to give some account of him in this section.

Neither the name of his father or mother is known; but he was descended of an illustrious family of senators, of præfects, and of generals. His grandfather Apollinaris, præfect of the prætorium, was a man of worth, and the first Christian of his race. His father was a tribune, and secretary of state under the emperor Honorius; and afterwards præfect of Gaul under the reign of Valentinian III. His mother was a near relation of the emperor Avitus.

The education of Sidonius was suitable to his birth; his talents and industry were honourable to both. Under the best masters of his time, he went through a regular course of grammar and philosophy. The Latin was his native tongue: he was able to translate with ease the Greek, which was the learned language of those times; but his favourite study and amusement was poetry: he had discovered and indulged a poetic genius from his earliest youth, and cultivated it to an advanced age.

Savaron, one of the editors of his works, thinks he was bred to a military profession; others say, with more probability, that he was educated as a lawyer for the bar.

By his marriage with Papianilla, the daughter of the præfect and emperor Avitus, he acquired the estate of Avitac in Auvergne, which rendered him independent, and capable of devoting his time to retirement and study. He describes his villa on this estate with a glowing fancy, in the second epistle of

of the second book of his letters. It was delightfully situated in the neighbourhood of some bold, romantic, and beautiful hills, shaggy rocks, and woods; near a hot spring, which formed a natural warm bath; an abundant stream of fine water, stored with fish, intersected the lawn; and the sea, at no great distance, was seen from the windows, constantly enlivened with ships.

On the accession of his father-in-law to the Imperial throne, Sidonius attended him to Rome; and having composed a panegyric on him, pronounced it in presence of the senate and Roman people. It was much applauded by them, and rewarded by the emperor with a brazen statue, which he caused to be erected for Sidonius in the city of Rome.

But the reign of Avitus lasted a few months only; and the poet, his son-in-law, was taken prisoner in the city of Lyons by Majorianus, who succeeded to the Imperial crown. The learning and talents of Sidonius secured him the respect and esteem of his conqueror; and they were soon employed in the praise of Majorianus, as they had been so lately in that of his predecessor, and as they were afterwards in that of his successor, Anthemius.

Anthemius raised him to the office and high rank of præfect or governor of Rome, and created him a patrician. He seemed now in the high road to honour and power. He was the peculiar friend and counsellor of his prince; and the successful patron of all whose applications he approved, and supported for political favours. His authority was equally respected in the affairs of state, as his judgment and taste were in works of literature.

In the midst of this career of literary and political glory, a religious spirit caught the mind of

Sidonius. He relinquished all his civil offices and honours, and became a Christian bishop at Clermont. He could scarcely be influenced by ecclesiastical ambition, as he rather descended than rose in leaving Rome for Clermont, and in changing the Imperial council for a diocesan synod. Worldly motives might determine him; but his subsequent conduct rather disposes us to believe, that it was the authority of conscience which made him prefer the episcopal office; for he immediately, and uniformly and zealously applied himself to the studies and duties which it demanded, and was not more respected by the people, than by his brethren of every rank in the church.

From this period his epistles betray a considerable degree of fanaticism, even beyond the ordinary spirit and cant of those times: the expressions of his own humility, and the flattery which he poured on others, are equally disgusting.

Now he professed to repent of what he had formerly written and done. When urged by Euphronius, his friend, the respectable bishop of Autun, to write an ecclesiastical history; and again, by Leon, the minister of Euric, king of the Visigoths, to write on civil history; he refused both. He renounced his favourite poetry itself, as profane, and unbecoming his Christian profession and character as a bishop: he ventured, indeed, to write the lives of saints, but judged it necessary to assume a humbler style in composing them, as well as in the letters which he wrote to his friends.

He became altogether recluse and monkish. He sold his property, his furniture, and his silver-plate; and starved himself, to feed the poor. His mind

* Lib. vi. ep. 1. The authors of the Hist. Liter. de la France call it a salutary humility: tom. ii. p. 554.

was alienated from the world, and solely engrossed with the awful mysteries of religion².

So great, however, was the respect which his brethren entertained for him, that on occasion of a dispute in electing a bishop to the vacant see of Bourges, they all agreed to submit to him, and to receive cordially as bishop-elect, whomsoever he should recommend. He accordingly recommended Simplicius, who was unanimously approved and confirmed.

When Clermont, his episcopal city, was besieged by the Visigoths, he seems to have imagined that he was able to defend it by his prayers, and had persuaded the people, in this confidence, to hold out to the last. They found it necessary, however, to capitulate, and on making it known that he had been the cause of their obstinacy, he was forced to secure his safety by flight; but from a general veneration of his character, even his enemies favoured and restored him. We know little of the latter end of his life, which seems to have been spent in the quiet exercise of the duties of his office. He died on the 21st of August A. D. 488, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and eighteenth year of his episcopal dignity.

However great his talents, they must have been rendered much more conspicuous by the comparative inferiority of genius and learning in that age. His panegyrist, Mamertus bishop of Vienne, extols him not only as superlatively learned and eloquent, but as the restorer of ancient eloquence.

His talents
and learn-
ing.

His imagination is not so bold as it is lively; his descriptions are animated; and his writings are not destitute of sensibility or judgment. But the subject

² Lib. iv. ep. 2.

which

which he chose for his three principal poems, bearing in its name and nature the idea of praise, must have rather cramped his genius, and given his mind a general bias to the vile art of flattery. This runs through his epistles, which, however elegant, are too much loaded with the language of compliment.

His works.

Both his prose and verse flow smoothly, though there is a considerable want of purity in his language, and of harmony occasionally in his periods: there is a quaintness of expression, and a general defect of simplicity in his style, which, considering the age in which he wrote, may be overlooked amidst so many other marks of genius; and some parts of his works will admit of comparison with any of the authors of the Augustan age.

Besides several extempore pieces which he never polished or published, we find some smaller poems among his letters, which are moderately elegant; as the last verse of the epitaph on his friend Mamertus:

Epitaph on
Mamertus.

At tu quisque doles, amice lector,
De tanto quasi nil viro superstit,
Udis parce genis rigare marmor;
Mens et gloria non queunt humari.

“ Friendly reader, mourn not over so great a man,
“ as if nothing remained of him; dry up your
“ tears, mind and glory cannot be buried.”

The poem addressed to Firmin, which concludes his ninth book, is superior to any of the rest, contained in his epistles. The two following verses are pathetic and delicate:

Poem to
Firmin.

Nec recordari queo quanta quondam
Scripserim primo juvenis calore:
Unde pars major utinam taceri
Possit, et abdi.

Nam senectutis propiore meta,
Quicquid extremis sociamur annis
Plus pudet si quid leve lussit ætas
Nunc reminisci.

“ Nor can I now remember how much I wrote
“ long ago, in the heat of youth, the greater part
“ of which I now earnestly wish might be buried
“ in oblivion,” &c.

In his panegyrics, he sometimes labours to extract compliment from circumstances not generally esteemed rich in praise; as in that on Anthemius's marriage:

Post fœcerum Augustum regnas, sed non tibi venit
Purpura per thalamos, et conjux regia regno
Laus potius quam causa fuit: nam juris habenis
Non generum legit respublica, sed generosum.
Fallor, his gemino nisi cardine rem probat orbis.
Ambit te Zephyrus, rectorem destinat Eurus,
Ad Boream pugnas, et formidaris ad Austrum.

Panegyric
on Anthe-
mius;

And again, on the strictness of his military discipline:

—quod miles in agros
Nec licitis, nec furtivis excursibus ibat
Cui deesset sæpe Ceres, semperque Ixæus,
Disciplina tamen non fuit; inde propinquo
Hoste magis timere ducem. —

Some of the best verses of his panegyric on Majorianus, are those in which his mind glows with the remembrance of the former prosperity of Lyons, his native city; contrasted with its ruinous state, in consequence of its recent siege and capture by Majorianus, now his patron; to whom with the same breath he offers the most unnatural praise:

Et quia lassatis nimium spes unica rebus
Venisti, nostris petimus succurre ruinis;
Lugdunumque tuam, dum præteris, aspice victor.
Otia post nimios poscit te fracta labores:
Cui pacem das, redde animum: lassata juvenci

on Majori-
anus;

Cervix

Cervix depōita melius post sulcat aatro
 Telluris glebam solidā : .bove, fruge, colono.
 Civibus exhausta est : stantis fortuna latebat,
 Dum capitur, vā quanta fuit ? Post gaudia princeps
 Delectat meminisse mali. Populatibus, igni
 Etā concidimus, venient tamen omnia tecum
 Restituis : Fuimus vestri quia causa triumphī,
 Ipsa ruina placet.

In his panegyric on Avitus, his father-in-law, which was more natural and voluntary, there is evidently more poetic fire and elegance. He introduces into it the machinery of the heathen gods, after the manner of Homer and Virgil ; in order to provide the venerable metropolis of the world with an emperor worthy of her honours, and suitable to her critical state at that time.

on Avitus.

Forte Pater Superūm prospexit ab æthere terras,
 Ecce viget quodcumque videt ; mundum reparasse
 Aspexisse fuit ; solus sovet omnia nutus.
 Jamque ut convenient Superi, &c.

After a characteristical description of the several gods assembled, and a glowing account of the place of their assembly, Rome is represented as advancing to present her supplications to Jupiter, for a wife, great, and respectable emperor :

Cum procul erecta cœli de parte trahebat
 Pigros Roma gradus, curvato cornua collo
 Ora ferens. —

Testor, sancte Parens, inquit, te numen et illud
 Quicquid Roma fuit summo satis obruta fato
 Invideo abjectis. —

Having given a general history of her prosperity and great men, and urged her immediate request as the means of recovering her former prosperity and grandeur, Jupiter replies :

— utque tibi pateat quo surgere tandem
 Fessa modo possis, paucis cognosce, docebo.
 Est mihi, quæ Latio se sanguine tollit alumnā,

Tellus

*Tellus clara viri, cui non dedit optima quondam
Rerum opifex Natura parem.* —

In short, Gaul is the country, and Avitus is the name of the hero, destined by heaven for the salvation and glory of Rome.

*Hunc tibi Roma dedi, patetis dum Gallia campis.
Intonat Augustum pluvio* —.

There are several other poems, two of which are of some length; but an account of them might be tedious, and enough is already said to afford an idea of the genius and writings of Sidonius.

The nine books of letters were collected by himself. He began a history of Attila's wars, but made little progress in it, and judged that which he had written unfit for publication.

Venantius Honorius Fortunatus was born A. D. V. H. Fortunatus. 530, some think in Poitiers, but others more generally in Ceneda in Italy. He was educated at Ravenna, where he was successful in the study of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry; but he was unacquainted, till an advanced age, with the Grecian philosophy, having read the writings of the fathers only in his younger years.

The wars which distracted Italy, and perhaps some motives of superstition, induced him to leave that country and travel into France. His genius, learning, and happy talent for conversation, rendered him every where acceptable, and secured him the hospitality and patronage of persons of the highest rank. He remained some time at the court of Sigibert in Austrasia, about A. D. 566, when he composed the epithalamium on the marriage of that prince with Brunehaut. Thence he went to Poitiers, where he appears to have enjoyed leisure enough for the study of philosophy, and for writing several of the principal of his works.

It

Is elected
bishop of
Poitiers.

It was almost at the close of his life, in the year 592; that he was advanced to the episcopal see of Poitiers. He seems to have taken no very active part in public affairs, which renders the history of his life less interesting. We shall therefore proceed to give a brief account of his genius and writings, as a specimen of the state of literature, and especially of poetry, in the end of the sixth century.

His genius, and especially his poetical talents, are highly extolled, both by his contemporaries, as Gregory of Tours, and by subsequent writers. He certainly excelled the writers of his own time, particularly in verse; and discovered powers of composition, which in a better age might have shone with a peculiar lustre. But if we examine them strictly by an approved standard, we shall find them for the most part very inferior. The principal feature in the character of his works, is the easy flowing style of his language, animated occasionally by an elegant, rather than by a bold or ardent imagination. His verse is neither smooth, nor accurately measured; and though his Latin be not always classical, yet it is wonderfully pure and correct, considering the age in which he wrote. The following verses are taken from the beginning of the second book of his poem on the life of Saint Martin:

Life of Saint
Martin.

*Pendula jamdudum laxavi carbasia pinu
Dum pelagus componit iter, dum nauta resumit
Et restricta semel levius se sarcina ducit:
Me quoque jam primi finita parte libelli
Ad cursum levis aura vocat, paro lintea ventis.
Spiritus altevolans imple mea vela secundus
Ne trepidam classem contraria flabra flagellent.*

“ The loosened sails already hang fluttering
“ from the mast; the smooth sea invites him, and
“ the sailor, fully equipped, with alacrity resumes
“ his

“ his voyage. Having finished one book, again I
 “ spread my sails to the wind, and enter on-an-
 “ ther. Gentle breeze, come fill my sails, and let
 “ no contrary blasts disturb my course, or injure
 “ my frail and trembling bark.”

The subjects of this poem are visionary and fanatical in the extreme, and show the degree to which even a man of genius may be subjected, under the power of credulity and superstition, and especially in a dark age.

The smaller poems of Fortunatus are numerous, His smaller poems. and chiefly on religious subjects, or in the form of epistles, addressed to Gregory of Tours, and to other bishops and clerical men of those times. They are generally as trifling, in respect of the composition, as of the subject. There are, however, a few exceptions, and particularly the poem on a girl, whom he recommends to Gregory as in great distress, under an accusation of theft, for want of sufficient exculpatory proof, or rather of funds for bearing the expence of a prosecution, and therefore about to be taken from her father and mother, who were present, and subjected to slavery, according to law, by her accuser:

Cum graderer festinus iter, pater alme Gregori,
 Qua præcessoris sunt pia signa tui.
 Qua fertur convulsa jacens radicitus arbor,
 Martini ante preces exiluisse comis;
 Quæ fidei merito nunc stat spargendo medelas
 Corpora multa medens, cortice nuda manens.
 Pletibus affuit hac genitor, genitrixque puellæ
 Voce implendo aures, et lacrymando genas.
 Figo pedem, suspendo aurem, mihi panditur ore,
 Vix per singultus vendita nata suos, &c.

The oppressed
 maid.

The poetic spirit is more abundant and better maintained throughout the poem composed on the marriage of Sigebert with Brunehaut, than in any of the other poems of the same length. He first describes

describes successfully the glowing state of the royal lover's mind:

Epithalamium on
Brunehaut,
&c.

—dehinc sensus opimus

Regis anhelantem placidis bibit ossibus ignem,
Molliter incumbens, et inhæsit flamma medullis.
Regalis servebat apex, nec nosse sopora
Cordis erat requies oculis, animoque recurrens,
Ad vultus quos pinxit amor, mentemque fatigans,
Sæpe per amplexum falsa sub imagine lufit.

Then he introduces in a lively manner, Cupid and his mother, as interested in the marriage, and as preparing to celebrate it, while they alternately extol the birth and the virtues of Sigebert and Brunehaut:

Mox ubi conspexit cælo superante Cupido
Virginea mitem torrer lampade regem,
Lætus ait Veneri, mater, jam mea peregi, &c.

Exposition
of the Lord's
prayer.

Among the numerous works of Fortunatus, the authors of the Literary History of France speak highly of his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, which, they observe, is "the most excellent of all his writings. It is not only pious, and rich in theology, but surpasses," they say, "all his other prose-writings, in purity, perspicuity, and precision. It is free from that overflowing stream of words, which being poured forth tumultuously, and without arrangement, in his other prose-writings, obscure and embarrass the sense."

That Exposition is not in the Collection of his works which I have now before me; but as they speak highly also of one of his letters in prose, to a gentleman on the death of his daughter, the following extract from it may be acceptable, as a specimen of his style and manner on that kind of subject.

The preamble is about one half of the epistle. It begins thus:

Ad virum illustrem Salutatorium.

Letter of
condolence
to a gentle-
man of
rank.

“ Inter humanæ conditionis subripiennia vulne-
 “ ra, quæ semper incerto tramite nutantium ami-
 “ corum ac labentium temporum reddunt vota,
 “ suspectum nihil est in aliquo aliquid magis quod
 “ cruciet, quam quenquam aut non videre quod
 “ cupiat, aut videre quod perdat. Cum trepidans
 “ animus, in utroque non modico sub fasce succum-
 “ bat, dum pendulus spectat diurne quod ha-
 “ beat, et ut habere cœpit, mox amittat,” &c.—
 “ Hinc est quod loquor charissime, et fide dilec-
 “ tionis mihi connexe, eo quod tu per hos apices
 “ natæ caræ transitum conqueraris, vix singultu
 “ rumpente indicans calamo tristi decennalis tem-
 “ pus ætatis, irruente funere, pubertatis teneræ
 “ flosculum martuissse, cum pene nuptiali retracta
 “ est de limine, non ad patris votum thalamo da-
 “ tur, sed tumulto cum diverso cantio irrogatur,
 “ non thoro traditur, sed sepulchro.—Sed quo
 “ me rapit formæ decor se prodere tam cito fugax,
 “ quam caro mendax. Pleratur velut amissum,
 “ si consideratur non perditur quod ad Christum
 “ redit intactum,” &c.

“ Amidst the evils which steal on human life,
 “ and which always, in a manner unexpected, ter-
 “ minate the hopes of men, and fulfil the designs
 “ of Providence, there is nothing ever to be met
 “ with more afflicting, than either to lose the friend
 “ whom we love, or to see him when we know
 “ that we are about to lose him. The trembling
 “ spirit, in either case equally severe, is ready to
 “ faint; while in long suspense it looks on what it
 “ possesses, and thinks it shall soon be without that
 “ object of enjoyment,” &c. He goes on to
 “ view the same subject in different aspects; he traces
 “ such afflictions to man’s original transgression,
 “ which he contemplates in various lights, and at

c c

sufficient

sufficient length. He suggests that none of the patriarchs were able to evade the general law of mortality, not even Jesus, the conqueror of death himself. "Hence, my dear and Christian friend, I beseech you not to bewail the departure of your beloved daughter, who, at the age of ten years, the most hopeful period of life, shrunk like the tender flower, when it ought to have spread its blossoms fully out to day," &c. He speaks of some of the probable objects of the parent's hope; of the success, even in respect of personal appearance and handsomeness, which might result in some measure from a mother's care: then checking himself, "Why do I speak of beauty, so liable to fade, or at all of the body, so ready to elude our embrace? she had beauties of a superior nature, more worthy to interest the heart. Such was your daughter; yet scarcely yours, for she was only lent you for a season. Can you, then, mourn her as lost, when she is only restored uncorrupted to Christ?" &c. He proceeds to insist, that his friend is not the only sufferer in this way, and that he ought not to expect an exemption from evils to which the greatest men that ever lived have been subjected. He proposes David and Job, as examples to him of patience and submission, and urges the superior enjoyment of his daughter in heaven.

Account of
Fortunatus,
by the au-
thors of the
Literary
History of
France.

Fortunatus, say the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, was worthy to have flourished in a better age; and there is less honour in having been the first of his own times, than he might have acquired had he been cotemporary with the ancient poets. He had a wonderful facility in the composition of verse: he did it extempore, without effort or previous study: on that account, however, his verses

are

are generally imperfect, and insufficiently polished. They are occasionally obscure, and sometimes unnatural. Some improper freedoms are used by him in orthography, as *diacni* for *diaconi*; yet Fortunatus is, for the most part, ingenious, interesting, and elegant: he excels especially in geographic description.

Besides the faults already noticed, he is chargeable with the frequent neglect of measure, or quantity. This neglect appears to have been common to him with other Christian writers, who thought it a subject of attention beneath them. He has also been blamed for intermingling heathen fables and divinities in his works, with subjects in which they were by no means appropriate.

With respect to prose, Fortunatus exemplifies too much the genius of the age, which aimed at a false eloquence, in a superabundance of words, almost without any arrangement: his letters, his prefaces, and his lives of the saints, are written in this style. Some other works, on which he probably bestowed greater attention, are more simple, and free from the tediousness and embarrassment of long sentences, and of words which have no meaning. Such are the Expositions of the Lord's Prayer and of the Apostles' Creed. In his other works, both prose and verse, he has taken too much liberty in the use of barbarous words and phrases, in cutting off syllables, and in changing their termination, number, and construction*.

Georgius Florentius Gregorius, bishop of Tours, Gregory of
Tours was descended of an illustrious family of Auvergne, and was born the 30th of November A. D. 544. He was educated by his uncle, Saint Gall, and re-

* Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. iii. p. 464—491. Also Dupin's Eccles. Hist. vol. v. p. 51; and Cave, Hist. Literaria.

ceived from him the first impressions of virtue and learning. Having fallen into bad health, and being considered as dangerously ill, he was carried, as was customary in those times, to the tomb of Saint Alire, where he vowed that, if he recovered, he would devote himself to the service of the church. On the death of Saint Gall, the education of young Gregory, who did recover, was continued by S. Avitus, who, at the proper age, ordained him a deacon in the church, and encouraged him in the active discharge of clerical duties, as well as in the private study of ecclesiastical and human learning. But Gregory himself attended more to the culture of the heart than the understanding, and perused the sacred scriptures more diligently than the heathen writers.

elected
bishop.

He was again seized with a disorder, which occasioned a visit to the tomb of Saint Martin of Tours, for whom he entertained a high veneration. It was on that occasion that the clergy, the noblesse, and people of Tours, became acquainted with him, and were so impressed with his worth, that on the death of Eufronius they unanimously elected him their bishop; and having obtained the royal approbation of that election, and Gregory's acceptance, he was consecrated and installed the 22d of August A. D. 573, being then about thirty years of age.

His piety was exemplary, and his conscience tender; his fidelity and zeal in the discharge of both private and public duties, were unblameable. He laboured assiduously to know his people, and provide for their wants: he preached to them, admonished them, and watched over them with affection and unwearied attention. Nor was he less attentive and liberal to the temporal interests of his benefice; he repaired the churches of his diocese,

diocese, and rebuilt those which were in a ruinous state, particularly the cathedral, which was originally built by Saint Martin.

The same good conscience and fidelity attended him in the discharge of his duty as a citizen, and as a member of the ecclesiastical courts. When Pretextatus of Rouen was in the most imminent danger, Gregory alone, persuaded of his innocence, stood by him with firmness, and protected him. The story is not uninteresting as related by Gregory himself in the fifth book of his history, and will afford us an opportunity of judging both of his temper and style.

Defence of
Pretextatus.

Pretextatus had married Brunehaut, dowager of Sigebert king of Austrasia, to Merovæus, son of Chilperic the king of Soissons. Chilperic was not only offended with this conduct of his son, but Fredegonde his queen, the inveterate rival and enemy of Brunehaut, was unable to restrain her indignation and resentment. They transferred a part of that wrath to Pretextatus, and represented him to his brethren as a transgressor of the laws of the church, in having married a nephew to his aunt-in-law. Chilperic, being urged to persecute the bishop by his queen, farther accused him of having given bribes to some of the people, to induce them to throw off their allegiance to their present sovereign, and even to murder him; and to place Merovæus on the throne, in his room.

A council was assembled at Paris A. D. 577, to deliberate on this subject, which was attended by forty-five bishops. Pretextatus, whom the king had in the mean time banished, was recalled; and being sisted before the council, was formally accused by Chilperic as a criminal against both church and state. "Hæc eo dicente infremuit multitudo
" Francorum, voluitque ostia basilicæ rumpere,

“ quasi ut extractum sacerdotem lapidibus urgeret :
 “ sed rex prohibuit fieri. Cumque Pretextatus
 “ episcopus ea quæ rex dixerat facta negaret, ad-
 “ venerunt falsi testes, qui ostendebant species
 “ aliquas, dicentes, hæc, et hæc nobis dedisti,
 “ ut Meroveo fidem promittere deberemus. Ad
 “ hæc ille dicebat, verum enim dicitis, vos a me
 “ sæpius muneratos, sed non hæc causa extitit, ut
 “ rex ejiceretur a regno. Nam et quum vos mihi,
 “ et equos optimos, et res alias præberetis, nun-
 “ quid poteram aliud facere, nisi et ego vos simili
 “ sorte remunerare ?”

The king retired : but while the council con-
 tinued their deliberations, Aëtius, the archdeacon
 of Paris, suddenly entered, and interrupting them,
 thus addressed them : “ Hear me, ye ministers of
 “ God ! either regard your sacred character, and
 “ render yourselves respectable, by abandoning
 “ your guilty brother, or countenance and screen
 “ him, and subject yourselves to just contempt :”—
 “ Aut certe nullus vos a modo pro Dei sacer-
 “ dotibus est habiturus, si personas vestras sagaciter
 “ non erigitis, aut fratrem perire permittitis.”

The assembly was thunderstruck : they dreaded
 the wrath of the queen, at whose instigation Aëtius
 had thus presumed to speak. When no one ven-
 tured to reply, or to move, Gregory of Tours
 arose : “ Permit me,” said he, “ to persuade you,
 “ most holy servants of the Lord, and especially
 “ you who may have most influence with the king,
 “ to offer him your counsel in a manner the most
 “ solemn and becoming your priestly office, to
 “ beware of executing any vengeance on the mi-
 “ nister of God, lest he provoke Heaven by the
 “ oppression of the innocent, and lose at once his
 “ kingdom and honour. Put him in mind of the
 “ fate of Chlodomer, who neglected the counsel of

“ the bishop Avitus: and remember yourselves the words of the prophet, ‘ If the watchman shall see a man’s iniquity, and not warn him, his soul shall be required of him.’—“ *Hæc me dicente, non respondit ullus quicquam, sed erant omnes intenti et stupentes. Duo, autem adulatores, ex ipsis, quod de episcopis dici dolendum est, nunciaverunt regi dicentes, quia nullum majorem inimicum in suis causis quam me haberet.*”

Immediately the sycophant courtiers reported Gregory’s speech to the king, who having ordered him into his presence, upbraided him; and when reproaches seemed unavailing, tried to soothe him; but finding all in vain, again dismissed him. About midnight following, however, a messenger came to him from the queen, with a promise of two hundred pounds of silver, if he would abandon Pretextatus; and assured him that all the bishops but himself had abandoned him, and had given their promise to that effect; and as it seemed singular for him alone to countenance that bishop, so it was hoped that now he would not have even one to support him. Gregory indignantly replied, that a thousand pounds of both gold and silver should not make him act contrary to the canons and a good conscience. Several bishops came to him in the morning to prevail on him, but received the same answer.

Chilperic next brought forward an accusation of theft against Pretextatus, from which the latter cleared himself to the satisfaction of all, and even of the accuser. At last the king determined basely to gratify the queen’s, rather than his own resentment. By means of some of his friends among the bishops, he prevailed on Pretextatus to admit, for the sake of peace, that he was guilty of the crimes with which he had charged him. “ *Videns*

" autem rex Chilpericus quod eum his calumniis
 " superare nequiret, attonitus valde, ac conscientia
 " confusus, discessit a nobis; vocavitque quos-
 " dam de adulatoribus suis, et ait victum me ver-
 " bis episcopi fateor, et vera esse quæ dicit scio;
 " quid nunc faciam ut reginæ de eo voluntas
 " adimpleatur? Et ait, ite, et accedentes ad eum
 " dicite, quasi consilium ex vobismet ipsis dantes:
 " Nosti quod sit rex Chilpericus pius atque com-
 " punctus, et cito flectatus ad misericordiam: hu-
 " miliare sub eo, et dicito ab eo objecta a te per-
 " petrata fuisse: tunc nos prostrati omnes coram
 " pedibus ejus dari tibi veniam impetramus. His
 " seductus Pretextatus episcopus pollicitus est se
 " ita facturum."

On this confession, the king produced the canon law, by which a bishop guilty of these crimes is declared incapable of holding his office any longer, and is of course no more under the protection of the church; but being deposed, is amenable to the laws of the state. He therefore required, according to custom, that his pontifical robes should be torn off; that the 109th psalm should be sung over him; and that a positive sentence of excommunication should now be passed against him: to all which, when Gregory alone had opposed himself, Pretextatus, by the king's order, was apprehended, hurried from their presence, thrust into prison, and afterwards sent into banishment.

One sentence more, with which Gregory concludes this subject, is highly characteristic of his extreme credulity and superstition. " While we
 " were at Paris," says he, " on this business, awful
 " appearances," (viz. the *Aurora borealis*,) " signi-
 " fied the death of Merovæus."—" Cum autem
 " apud Parisios moraremur, signa in cœlo appa-
 " ruerunt, id est viginti radii a parte Aquilonis, qui
 " ab

“ ab oriente surgentes ad occidentem properabant,
 “ Ex quibus unus prolixior, et aliis supereminens,
 “ ut est in sublime elatus, mox defecit, et sic re-
 “ liqui, qui secuti fuerant, evanuerunt. Credo
 “ interitum Merovei pronunciaſſe.”

Gregory, biſhop of Tours, was highly eſteemed, and truſted, by both the great and learned of his time. He was repeatedly an ambaffador at different courts; was often conſulted by the king on matters of ſtate; and was the intimate friend of the poet Fortunatus, to whom ſome of his poems were dedicated, and many of his letters addreſſed.

He died at the age of fifty-one, in the twenty-second year of his epiſcopal office, and in the year of our Lord 595^s. Gregory's death.

The principal work of Gregory, is his Hiſtory of France, divided into ten books, which was afterwards continued by Fredegarius, &c. to, the reign of Charlemagne. The firſt and ſecond books contain a meagre chronicle, or hiſtory of the world, from the creation to the death of Clovis, A. D. 511. The other eight books bring the hiſtory of France down to A. D. 591. His hiſtory, though the work of a man ſo credulous, may be generally depended on as to facts; for he relates only what he had himſelf witneſſed, or he refers to ſuch authorities as ought to be credited. It is an important and uſeful work, without which the hiſtory of France muſt have continued, during that period, to have been involved in obſcurity and fable. His works.

Gregory wrote alſo eight books of the Lives of the Saints, beginning with the miracles of Chriſt and the Apoſtles; after which he does not obſerve the chronological order, but paſſes from one age

^s Hiſt. Litter. de la France, tom. iii. p. 379. Dupin ſays, it was A. D. 596. His life is written by Odo of Cluny.

and country to another, as his inclination or materials direct him. At the end of the seventh book, is a Letter concerning the history of the Seven Sleepers. He wrote, besides, a Commentary on the Psalms, and a Treatise on Ecclesiastical Offices.

His Style.

Gregory has acknowledged that his style is rude, and his manner of writing generally low and inelegant; and some authors have been disposed to give him credit for that style and manner, alleging that he had adapted his writings to the capacity and taste of the people of his time. Supposing he had done so designedly, it would have been injudicious, not to say injurious, to confirm the people of the age in their want of taste and culture, rather than to make an exertion to inspire them with the desire of good writing, or with zeal to excel in it. It surely may be affirmed that this was not the fact, that he wrote ill designedly, as will appear to any one's satisfaction who will attentively peruse his writings, but because he could write no better; for it is not merely a want of simplicity, of purity, of dignity, and of propriety in his diction; but it is a want of judgment in the selection of the subjects which he records, and of arrangement in his sentences and subjects, and in his thoughts and facts, which is so justly complained of. Foreign and domestic, civil and ecclesiastical affairs, are confusedly mingled together; the merest trifles often interrupt and suspend our attention in the progress of the most important and interesting events. His credulity and superstition, and his ignorance of natural causes and effects, to which a great part of his superstition may be ascribed, are not only disgusting, but tend much to diminish our respect for him; and our confidence, not in his veracity, but in his judgment, as an historian.

Marculfus

Marculfus appears, from his own preface to his *Marculfus* two books of Forms, to have been a French monk; but we are uncertain about the place of his residence, or the year of his birth. He composed his work, he says, when he was seventy years of age, and he dedicated it to a bishop Landri; but he does not inform us of what diocese or country; though it is probable, that it was the diocese of Paris⁶, and that he flourished about A. D. 660⁷.

Nothing farther is known of his personal history. However little he is noticed by his cotemporaries, who have not handed down any account of him, his formularies have acquired him considerable fame in later times. He collected them to serve as monuments of former transactions, as well as precedents or examples to future times, of the manner in which written deeds were then composed; that, if they chose, they might follow and copy them. Such a collection of authentic and well-drawn forms was not only useful, but, without any statutory compulsion or design, acquired by custom respect and authority.

The author himself acknowledges that his style is inelegant; but if we may judge from his preface, it has in general more elegance than the deeds of which he has preserved the copies. "Utinam, "sancte Pater," he says, addressing himself to bishop Landri, "jussioni vestræ tam efficaciter, "quam spontanè obtemperare valuissem, quia jam "supra vires meæ possibilitatis conatus sum in- "junctum a vobis subire negotium, cum fere sep- "tuaginta aut amplius annos expleam vivendi. "Nec jam tremula ad scribendum manus est apta, "nec ad videndum mihi oculi sufficiunt caligantes,

⁶ Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. iii. p. 566.

⁷ Hieronymi Bignon Præf. ad Formul. Marculfi.

Design of
his collec-
tion.

“nec ad cogitandum sufficit hebetudo.” The design of the collection he shortly states in the last sentence of his preface: “Ergo vero hæc quæ
“apud majores meos, juxta consuetudinem loci
“quo degimus, didici, vel ex sensu proprio cogi-
“tavi, ut potui coacervare in unum curavi, et ca-
“pitula prænotavi, ut facilius quod voluerit a quæ-
“renti in antea scripto reperiantur.”

The first book contains forty copies, chiefly of royal charters of lands, of privileges, and of confirmations of them to monasteries, to the clergy, &c. The authors of those in the second book, which are in number fifty-two, are more various, and their subjects too relate more to the transactions of ordinary and civil life; as, charters of sale of houses and lands, of excambion, of dowry, &c.

Specimen
of his for-
mulas.

The following, No. 7, as a specimen, is taken from the second book: it is the settlement by a man of some rank, of all his property in life-rent on his spouse, after they had no prospect of children of their own body, and in consequence of his spouse having conveyed her property in life-rent to him. It begins with assigning the reason for such a deed, viz. that there may be no dispute among their respective heirs on the decease of either of them: “Wherefore, my dear spouse, I con-
“stitute you my heir, if you shall survive me, of
“all my property, both allodial and by purchase,
“or in whatever other way acquired, or wherever
“situated, whether it had been occupied by our-
“selves or by others, and whatever it may be,
“lands, villages, houses, farms, cottagers, slaves,
“vineyards, plains, meadows, waters, and channels
“of water, gold, silver, clothes, with the children
“and property of slaves of either sex, young and
“old; so that as long as you live, you shall have
“full power to possess them all, and manage them

“as

" as your shall see cause : excepting only what I
 " may give and convey to a church, or monastery,
 " for the health of my soul. And you also shall
 " have full power to give and convey legally, and
 " to the ordinary extent, a part of our said pro-
 " perty to any such sacred use and place, after my
 " decease, for the health of your soul : and what-
 " soever shall remain after your decease, shall re-
 " turn to our respective legal heirs."—" So, I, my
 " dear husband, constitute you my heir in life-rent,"
 and repeating, in the same deed, almost the same
 form of words, by which he shall become life-rent
 heir of her property, as he had made her life-rent
 heir of his. After which the deed concludes thus ;
 " But if any one of our heirs, as we trust they
 " will not, shall attempt to contravene or violate
 " this sacred deed between us both, let him be
 " subjected to a penalty of pounds of
 " gold, or of silver : but this deed of
 " settlement shall remain in force, and invio-
 " late."

The defects of Marculfus in respect of style, so
 far from lessening our esteem of his valuable work,
 ought rather to recommend it, inasmuch as it
 shows us the degree of barbarity to which man-
 kind had sunk in their ordinary language and style :
 and from the work itself much information may be
 acquired concerning the origin of ancient customs,
 and rights and offices. It is the best interpreter
 of the ancient Salic and Ripuary laws, and of the
 capitularies of the kings ; it contributes even to
 illustrate some obscure passages of Gregory of
 Tours, and other writers of the middle age. In a
 word, the collection of Marculfus is a work both
 useful and curious, teaching us not only the or-
 der and form of ancient decisions, but serving

he himself admits, rustic and incorrect, "ut rusticitas et extremitas sensus mei valuit."

The Chronicle of Fredegaire hath been continued, from the period where he ends, to A. D. 768. The five chapters which follow the ninety-first, are generally considered as fabulous. They extend from A. D. 642, to A. D. 680. What follows that period, was generally written by the authority, and under the eye of the Carlovingian family.¹⁰

S. Eloy,
silver and
goldsmith,
and bishop.

Eligius or Eloy, bishop of Noyon, is less eminent as a writer, than as an artist. He was born at Châtelat, near Limoges, about A. D. 588. At a proper age he was placed under Abbo, master of the mint, to learn the trade of a goldsmith. After having become expert in that art, he went and prosecuted it under the patronage and immediate eye of Clotaire II. and his minister Bobbon. A chair of gold and precious stones, which he made for that prince, appears to have excited great attention and applause¹¹. He was soon after advanced to the office of master of the mint, and was employed in adorning many of the shrines of the saints, and especially those of Saint Martin and Saint Denis.

His piety had recommended him to the notice of the church, and he was elected and ordained bishop of Noyon, A. D. 646. In this station he was unwearied in his labours, preaching to and instructing the people, till in a good old age he departed this life, A. D. 663.

He has left only one sermon, and a few homilies, behind him; or rather, his biographer Saint Owen

¹⁰ Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. iii. p. 593.

¹¹ "Factus est aurifex peritissimus, atque in omni fabricandi arte doctissimus," says Saint Owen, bishop of Rouen, his biographer, with whom he lived in great intimacy.

abridged his sermons, which were very short, into one.

He was an able and learned man, says Dupin, and his sermons are better than those of several other Latin preachers, as well for matter as style.

The story of a poor gardener, which he relates in his first sermon, shews that the most ingenious and learned men of that age were entirely credulous and superstitious. "The gardener," he says, "having kept back part of the charity which he had destined for the poor, got a gangrene on his foot, for which it was to have been amputated, but was miraculously cured by his repentance."

Charlemagne was great, not merely in his political, but in his literary character. The history of his political conduct has been already given, and a general view has been taken of his zeal for promoting literature. The design of the present article, is to consider his learning personally, and his works as an author.

Charlemagne.

He appears to have spent his younger years in the usual manner of the youth of those times, in mere bodily exercise and amusement, and in the total neglect of mental culture. He is said to have been thirty years of age before he applied seriously to study. It was necessary, in the first place, to procure proper teachers from England and Italy, under whom he acquired the Latin and Greek, then the learned languages, and afterwards he prosecuted the ordinary branches of philosophy taught in those times.

Disadvantage of his late education.

Eginhart, his secretary, son-in-law, and biographer, says, that he could not write. The authors of the Literary History of France are disposed, with Lambecius, to consider this as meaning no more than that he was unacquainted with the Roman manner of writing. But if he was ignorant and incapable of writing Latin, he was most

D D

probably

probably unqualified to write any other language or character; for there is no evidence that any other language was usually written at that time¹². Far less can we suppose with some authors, that the emperor of such vast dominions, so zealous and active in promoting both their political and literary interests, would occupy himself anxiously in attempting to paint letters, as was also the frequent practice of those times. It seems necessary, therefore, to conclude, that he was late in acquiring the art of writing; that he never wrote well or elegantly; yet that probably soon after the age of thirty he did write, and as he advanced still farther in years, wrote very much¹³.

Late in
learning to
write;

assiduous
and success-
ful in lan-
guages and
eloquence.

He was very fluent and eloquent in speech, expressing himself in language the most appropriate. He was not only able to talk familiarly in Latin, but could address most of the foreign ambassadors in their native tongue, in Greek, Arabic, Scotch, German, and English¹⁴.

He shewed great respect for his teachers, and especially for Alcuin, from whom he learned not only rhetoric and dialectics, but also astronomy.

The Capi-
tularies not
probably
written by
him.

It seems improper to include among his works the Capitularies, which were enacted and published during his reign, since they were rather the result of

¹² Eginhart's words are, "Tentabat et scribere, tabulasque
"et codicillos ad hoc in lectulo sub cervicalibus circumferre
"solebat, ut cum vacuum tempus esset, manum effingendis li-
"teris assuefaceret. Sed parum prospere successit labor præ-
"posterus et sero inchoatus."

¹³ See Schmincke's notes on the 25th chapter of Eginhart's
life of Charlemagne. Among other opinions which he states is
this, that Charles tried to draw figures of the course of the
planets, &c.; but Eginhart's words are not, "effingendis
"figuris," but "literis."

¹⁴ "Græcam vero melius intelligere, quam pronuntiare po-
"terat." Eginhart, c. xxv. notes.

the joint deliberation of him and his council of state, and most probably the composition of the chancellor, or of one of the secretaries; and there is no evidence that they were the composition of Charlemagne himself.

Benedict, deacon of the church of Mayence, says, "that the most able among the clergy were usually employed to frame the Capitularies, and that they collected and composed them out of the books of Scripture, of ancient canons, and of the most approved former laws of the church and state."

Charlemagne's letters are numerous; they are generally addressed to public persons, or written on public business. The following extract from one addressed to Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, may serve as a specimen of his style. He begins with piously observing, that in every undertaking, but especially in matters of great importance, God ought to be acknowledged through Jesus Christ, "in cujus nomine, atque honore, legatum fraternitatis tuæ, quem ad bonæ recordationis filium nostrum Pipinum regem misistis, Arsatium scilicet, gloriosum Epatharium, ad nos cum verbis, et literis tuæ benigne atque honorifice suscepimus. Et quamvis ad nos missus non fuisset, veluti ad nos missum, adhibita diligentia cura, et audivimus, et cum eo de his, quæ detulit, quia prudentem animadvertimus, colloquutionem habuimus. Nec immerito, cum tanta esset non solum, in literis quas attulit, sed etiam in verbis, quæ ex ore illius nostris auribus in-

His epistles.

To Nicephorus emperor of Constantinople.

²⁵ Dupin has given a summary of the Capitularies, in his observations on ecclesiastical subjects in the eighth century of his Ecclesiastical History, under the article Charlemagne. But they may be seen at length, both civil and ecclesiastical, in Lindenberg's Collection of Ancient Laws, or still more perfectly in the Collection of Balusius, in two volumes, fol. Paris, 1677.

“ sonuerunt optatæ ac semper optandæ pacis copia,
 “ ut valde nos et quibuscunque Deum amantibus
 “ hujuscemodi legatio placere potuisset, quæ utique
 “ fuit tantæ charitatis, ac pacis favo resperfa ut in
 “ palato cordis cujusque fidelis veram possent sapere
 “ dulcedinem, possetque judicare penitus insipiens,
 “ cui talia videntur insipida.

“ Propter quod postquam illum in fines regni
 “ nostri pervenisse comperimus, veluti prescii opti-
 “ mæ ac Deo complacitæ legationis ejus, temperare
 “ nequivimus opportunè eum ad nostram præsen-
 “ tiam venire fecimus: maxime tamen quod is ad
 “ quem illum missum esse constabat, dilectus filius
 “ noster Pipinus rex, divino judicio jam rebus hu-
 “ manis excefferat, neque nos illum cum infecto
 “ negotio tanto, ad quod perficiendum directus
 “ erat, vacuum reverti pati potuimus,” &c.¹⁶

“ —In whose name we have graciously and re-
 “ spectfully received Arsfatius, whom you sent as
 “ your ambassador, with both written and verbal
 “ instruction to the prince Pepin, my late worthy
 “ son; whom, though not intended for me, I have
 “ regarded with the same attention as if his com-
 “ mission had been addressed to me, and observing
 “ him to be a prudent man, I have conversed with
 “ him freely on the object of his mission; and it
 “ gives me, as it must give every good man, the
 “ sincerest pleasure to find, both in the letter
 “ which he produced, and in his conversation in
 “ your name, such a steadfast disposition to maintain
 “ and cultivate peace.

“ Wherefore, as soon as I heard of his arrival,
 “ never doubting the friendly nature of his em-
 “ bassy, I could not refrain from inviting him to a

¹⁶ Inter Alcuini epist. ab Canisio, edit. A. D. 1725, vol. ii.
 P. 399.

“ conference,

“ conference, and the more especially, as my
 “ dear son, to whom he was sent, had departed
 “ this life; nor could I allow your ambassador to
 “ return to you without having accomplished the
 “ end of his mission,” &c.

The following short epistle addressed to Odilbert, archbishop of Metz, and which appears to have been circulated among the most learned of the clergy over the kingdom, shows a surprising ardour for promoting attention to the means of instruction and learning.

After a similar acknowledgment of God as in the epistle to Nicephorus, and which was his usual-practice, he writes thus :

“ Sæpius tecum, immo et cum cæteris collegis
 “ tuis, familiare colloquium de utilitate sanctæ Dei
 “ ecclesiæ habere voluissimus, si absque molestia
 “ corporali id efficere potuisses. Sed quamvis
 “ sanctitatem tuam in divinis rebus tota intentione
 “ vigilare non ignoremus; omittere tamen non
 “ possumus, quin tuam devotionem sancto incitante
 “ Spiritu nostris apicibus compellamus, atque com-
 “ moneamus, ut magis ac magis in sancta Dei ec-
 “ clesia studiosè ac vigilantia cura laborare studeas,
 “ in predicatione sancta et doctrina salutari; qua-
 “ tenus per tuam devotissimam solertiam verbum
 “ vitæ æternæ crescat, et curat, et multiplicetur
 “ numerus populi Christiani in laudem et gloriam
 “ Salvatoris nostri Dei. Nosse itaque per tua
 “ scripta aut per teipsum volumus, qualiter et
 “ tu et suffraganei tui doceatis et instruatis sacerdo-
 “ tes Dei, et plebem vobis commissam de bap-
 “ tismo sacramento; id est, Cur primo infans ca-
 “ techumenus efficitur? vel quid sit catechumenus?
 “ deinde per ordinem omnia quæ aguntur. De
 “ scrutinio, quid sit scrutinium? De symbolo, quæ
 “ sit ejus interpretatio secundum Latinos? De cre-

To Odilbert
 of Metz.

" dulitate, quomodo credendum sit in Dominum
 " Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum
 " filium ejus, et in Spiritum Sanctum; sanctam ec-
 " clesiam catholicam, et cætera quæ sequuntur in
 " eodem symbolo. De abrenunciatione Satanæ,
 " et omnibus operibus ejus et pompis. Quid sit
 " abrenunciatio, et quæ opera ejus diaboli et pom-
 " pæ? Cur insufflatur, et cur exorcizatur? Cur
 " catechumenus accipit salem? Quare tangantur
 " nares? Pectus ungatur oleo? Cur scapulæ sig-
 " nantur? et quare pectus, et scapulæ lavantur?
 " Cur albis induitur vestimentis? Cur sacra chris-
 " mate caput perungitur, et mystico tegitur vela-
 " mine? et cur corpore, et sanguine dominico con-
 " firmatur? Hæc omnia subtili indagine per scripta
 " nobis, sicut diximus, nunciare satage, et si ita
 " teneas et prædices, aut si in hoc quod prædicas te
 " ipsum custodias. Bene vale, et ora pro nobis."

" We have often wished, if we could accomplish
 " it, to converse with you and your colleagues fa-
 " miliarly on the utility of the holy church of God.
 " But although we are not ignorant of the real
 " concern with which you watch over divine things,
 " yet we must not omit, while we trust in the co-
 " operating influence of the Holy Ghost, by our
 " authority to exhort and admonish you to labour
 " in word and doctrine in the church of God, more
 " and more studiously, and with watchful perseve-
 " verance; so that by your pious diligence the word
 " of God may spread and flourish extensively, and
 " the number of the Christian people may be mul-
 " tiplied, to the praise and glory of our Saviour.
 " Wherefore we desire to know in writing, or from
 " your own mouth, in what manner you and your
 " clergy teach and instruct both those who are can-
 " didates for the holy office of the ministry, and the
 " people committed to you, in the sacrament of bap-
 " tism.

" tism. That is, Why does a child first become
 " a catechumen? and what is a catechumen? and
 " so of other things in their order. Of examina-
 " tion; what is it? Of the creed; what is the in-
 " terpretation or meaning of it among the Latins?
 " Of belief; in what manner are we to believe in
 " God the Father Almighty, in Jesus Christ his
 " Son, and in the Holy Ghost? &c. Of renoun-
 " cing Satan, and his works and pomp; what is
 " this renunciation? What is the meaning of
 " breathing on the person, and exorcising him?
 " Why does the catechumen receive salt? Why
 " are the ears touched? the breast anointed with
 " oil? the arms crossed? and the breast and arms
 " washed? Why are white garments put on?
 " why is the head anointed with the holy chrism?
 " why is it covered with a mystical veil? and why
 " is confirmation made with the body and blood of
 " Christ? All these things we require you by
 " careful study to examine, and to report an accurate
 " account of them to us in writing; and farther, to
 " state whether you so maintain and preach these
 " things, and govern your own life by the doctrines
 " which you preach ¹⁷."

A circular letter of this tenour from the emperor
 Charlemagne, addressed to all the bishops, must
 have had a surprising effect in rousing them to
 study, and in producing a general spirit of inquiry,
 and habit of writing.

There are yet remaining, dissertations in answer
 to these questions of the emperor, explaining the
 subjects of baptism, which shew the happy tendency
 and beneficial effects of his religious and literary
 zeal ¹⁸.

¹⁷ Mabillonii vetera analecta D'Achery, tom. iv. p. 75.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 77. et sequent.

His poems.

Charlemagne was extremely fond of poetry, and most probably indulged occasionally in writing it. There are five short poems attributed to him, though some writers, perhaps unreasonably, ascribe them to his master Alcuin¹⁹. The first is addressed to Pope Adrian I., and both in subject and design is a mere expression of esteem and respect. The second is an epitaph on the same pope, who died December A. D. 795, and which Charles having engraved in letters of gold on marble, sent to Rome. The subject of it, as of other epitaphs, is the praise of the deceased. The third and fourth are also complimentary, and are both addressed to Paul Warnefride, deacon of Aquileia, monk of the abbey of Mont Cassin, and author of the History of the Lombards. Charles had taken him prisoner along with Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and afterwards esteemed him much, on account of his genius and learning. The fifth is a kind of epitaph, or elegy, on the death of Rolland, consisting of only six lines. Of these the fourth, which is addressed to Paul Warnefride, the deacon and historian, appears to be the most lively and poetic, and is therefore given here as a specimen.

“ Hinc celer egrediens celeri mea charta volatu,
 “ Per sylvas, colles, valles quoque præpete cursu,
 “ Alma Deo chari Benedicti tecta require,
 “ Est nam certa quies fessis venientibus illuc;
 “ Hic olus hospitibus ; piscis, hic panis abundat,
 “ Pax pia, mens humilis, pulchra et concordia fratrum,
 “ Laus, amor, et cultus Christi simul omnibus horis ;
 “ Dic Patri, et sociis cunctis, salvetæ valete.
 “ Colla mei Pauli gaudendo amplectæ benigne,
 “ Dicito multoties, salve Pater optime. Salve.”

¹⁹ They are printed in the first volume of Fabricii Bibliotheca of Latin writers of the Middle Age, p. 954. The Authors of the Hist. Liter. de la Fr. tom. iv. p. 407, 408, are extremely angry at Fabricius and others for presuming to deny Charlemagne the honour of having written these poems.

" Go swift my card, o'er hills and vallies fly,
 " Surpass the wind, to equal thought go, try;
 " Enter the holy mansion of my Paul,
 " His hospitable welcome 's known to all:
 " There you may rest; and there the generous mind
 " Contemplate of my pious learned friend:
 " Humble, though eminent amidst the throng
 " Of monks, who all to Mount Cassin belong,
 " And soon as matins cease, these lines present,
 " They show how much on him my mind is bent.
 " Salute him much, salute the brethren all,
 " But chief and oft salute the noble Paul."

Eginhart informs us, that Charlemagne wrote out the ancient barbarous songs which related the acts and wars of former times, and committed them to memory ²⁰.

He also began to compose a grammar in his native tongue, which was the German or Tudesque ^{His grammar.}, but left it unfinished.

When we consider the number of wars which Charlemagne carried on, the countries which he subjected to his dominion, the vast extent of empire which he governed, and the various important concerns which must have occupied his attention, we have reason to wonder that he found any leisure for literary amusement, and to admire the powers of his mind, and his habitual and successful application ²².

Eginhart,

²⁰ Tacitus says of the Germans, " celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriarum et annalium genus est," &c.; and again, " ituri in proelia canent."

²¹ Eginhart de vit. Carol. Magn. cap. xxix. et not. Schminck. p. 131.

²² I have already observed in a note on the article of Image-worship in the Ecclesiastical History, that it is not probable that Charlemagne was the author of the Carolin books; but as the subject has been so much disputed, it may gratify general curiosity to add here a pretty large extract, which being compared with the preceding extracts from his letters, will enable those who think themselves competent, to judge from style whether they are his or not. Such as chuse to know the substance of these

Eginhart.

Eginhart, one of the most learned men of the age, and a person of high rank in the court of Char-

these books, will find them abridged by Dupin in giving the history of the second council of Nice, in the close of the eighth century; and they who want to see the books themselves, will find them in Goldast's Collections.

The following passage is taken from the twenty-eighth chapter of the fourth book, and the subject of it is concerning the meaning of the word *universal*, as applied to œcumenical, or general councils.

“ *Universitas ab uno cognominatur, quod uno multo totiens
 “ verso propagatur. Nam multitudo unitatum, vertente in
 “ unum collecta, universitas efficitur: Sicut enim ecclesia uni-
 “ versalis est, quæ Græco eloquio catholica dicitur, ita nimirum
 “ omne quicquid ab ejus unitate non discessit catholicum non-
 “ cupari potest. Omnis enim doctrina Christiana, vel quælibet
 “ constitutio, sive traditio, talis esse debet, ut universali conveniat
 “ ecclesiæ, quod nequaquam heretici observaverunt qui per
 “ diversas mundi partes aliquibus regionum partibus coarctati
 “ conventicula quædam statuerunt quibus, et se et quamplures
 “ ab ecclesiæ unitatis consortio segregaverunt. Cum ergo dua-
 “ rum et trium provinciarum præsules in unum conveniunt, si
 “ antiquorum canonum institutionum muniti aliquid prædica-
 “ tionis aut dogmatis instituunt, quod tamen ab antiquorum
 “ patrum dogmatibus non discrepat, catholicum est quod fa-
 “ ciunt, et fortasse dici potest universale: quoniam quamvis
 “ non sit ab universi orbis præsulibus actum, tamen ab univer-
 “ sorum fide et traditione non discrepat, quod crebro factum in
 “ plerisque mundi partibus, quibusdam necessitatibus incum-
 “ bentibus scimus: multa enim concilia gesta sunt, quorum in-
 “ stitutionibus sancta munita et corroboratur ecclesia. Si vero
 “ duarum aut trium provinciarum præsules in unum conve-
 “ nientes, nova quædam statuere cupientes, conventicula quæ-
 “ dam faciunt quæ non cum universi orbis ecclesia sentiunt,
 “ sed ab ea quadam ex parte dissentiunt, non est catholicum
 “ quod faciunt, et ideo universale nuncupari non potest. Omne
 “ quod ecclesiasticum est, catholicum est, et omne quod catho-
 “ licum est, universale est: omne autem quod universale est,
 “ profanis vocum novitatibus caret: omne igitur quod ec-
 “ clesiasticum est profanus vocum novitatibus careret, anti-
 “ quorum patrum dogmatibus contenta universalis dici poterat:
 “ non autem antiquorum patrum dogmatibus contenta est; non
 “ igitur universalis dici potest. Universale plane eandem sy-
 “ nodum non equetaremur profiteri, nisi eam universalis ec-
 “ clesiæ dogmatibus sanciremus refragari.”*

lemagne,

lemagne, came from the side of Germany; but the particular place of his birth, is unknown.

In speaking of this subject himself, he only says comparatively, that he was barbarous, and little accustomed to the Roman language. But it does not follow, as the authors of the Literary History of France have stated, that he was originally from a barbarous country. The phrase appears to be dictated by modesty, rather than founded on fact. He says, however, that he came young to the court of Charlemagne; he was probably educated along with the elder princes, and he always lived with them in the strictest terms of friendship.

At an early period of life he became secretary to Charlemagne, enjoyed his confidence, and was intimately and familiarly acquainted with all his counsels and transactions.

His eminent rank.

He married his daughter Imma, by whom he is said to have had one son only, Vuffin, who went, as was the ordinary custom of those times, into a monastery.

To these marks of distinction was added the important, and probably lucrative office of superintendant of public edifices over the empire, of which Charlemagne reared a great number. From this, as well as from the writings of Eginhart, we may conclude that he possessed a superior taste and judgment.

After the death of Charlemagne, Lewis, his son and successor, entrusted Eginhart with the education of his son Lothaire, and conferred on him, and the princess Imma his spouse, considerable territories in Germany, on which they built the abbey of Laurensheim, and the monastery of Selgenstadt²³.

His

²³ Monastery is the generic term including all kinds of religious houses. Abbey is a religious institution for men, over which

His wife having died about A. D. 837, he was inconsolable under that loss. His pathetic letters on that occasion to Lupus, abbot of Ferrara, produced a pious and sensible answer. He wrote Eginhart, "That though his prayers and vows had
 "not proved effectual to preserve her temporal
 "life, that they might be the means of obtaining
 "him a life spiritual and eternal; that it was expedient that she should die before him, as he was
 "stronger and more able to endure her loss, than
 "she might have been to endure the loss of him;
 "that the Supreme Ruler does not always grant
 "us what we ask, but what he judges most conducive to our real welfare; and finally, if he
 "cannot subdue his grief, and if it be more likely
 "to subdue him, that it is high time for him to
 "have recourse to the Divine goodness and mercy
 "for future happiness, resigning himself entirely
 "to the disposal of Heaven."

His death.

He lived but two years after, and was buried in the church of his monastery at Selgenstadt, in the year 839.

From an epitaph supposed to be written on him by the abbot of Fulda, it appears that he was believed to have been of a noble extraction, though the author may have meant no more than that, either as a courtier, a literary genius, or as the son-in-law of the emperor, he was noble or illustrious. He was undoubtedly a man of superior genius, and was truly exemplary for integrity and piety. He is said to have been of little stature, but lively and active. He had never been much engaged in that kind of business which renders men conspicuous;

which an abbot, or father, presides. Both these foundations must have been abbeys; for Eginhart is said immediately after to have retired himself to Selgenstadt, of which he became abbot.

but

but was almost constantly attached to the person of the emperor, and was eclipsed in his political character only by the superior lustre of Charlemagne.

Some authors ascribe to him more writings than others are willing to allow him: it is enough that scarcely any one disputes those which only can do honour to his memory,—his *Life of Charlemagne*, his *Annals*, and his *Letters*. His writings;

His *Letters* are collected among the writings of the authors of the French history by Duchesne: and the thirtieth, addressed to his son; the thirty-fourth, addressed to the emperor Lothaire, son of Lewis the Meek; and the sixty-second, addressed to Hermengarde, Lewis's queen, deserve particular notice. Letters.

The principal causes of questioning his right to the *Annals*, seem to have been the various ways in which his name has been spelled, and an eulogium on himself, found under the year 827 in some editions of his works: but that praise of himself is neither in the first edition, nor in any of those which are esteemed the best; and therefore seems to have been foisted in thoughtlessly by some copyists, his admirers. There are internal evidences in the style and general tenour of these *Annals*, which, in the judgment of Duchesne and others, prove, along with other circumstances of tradition and of collateral testimony, that Eginhart was the author of them. Annals.

These *Annals* contain the history of the reigns of Pepin, of Charlemagne, and a part of the reign of Lewis the Meek, from A. D. 741, to Christmas A. D. 829. They certainly far excel, not only in purity and perspicuity of style, but in the importance and selection of facts and circumstances, all the other annals of those times.

His

His Life of
Charle-
magne.

His Life of Charlemagne is the work which has excited most attention, both on account of the subject, and the manner in which it is written. It describes the private life and character of that great man, as the Annals are designed to record his public transactions and conduct.

In the former, Eginhart in thirty-four chapters, after an introduction of three chapters, gives an account summarily of the wars and conquests of Charles, of his allies, and of the high estimation in which he was held by them, and of the magnificent and useful public works which he constructed and executed. At the eighteenth chapter he turns his attention to him more as the head of a family, and as a private man: he describes his temper, the vicissitudes of his family, the manner in which he educated his children, his figure, his dress, his table, his economy, his talents, his learning, his piety, his charity, his last will or testament, and his death.

It must be acknowledged, that he runs over these articles with too much rapidity, and that, on a character so interesting, he is far from affording us full satisfaction. Even when we add the few anecdotes of Charlemagne, recorded in a clumsy style by the monk of St. Gall towards the end of the ninth century²⁴, we are still sensible of a great want of interesting information.

His Style.

Eginhart's style, though sometimes a little embarrassed by the length of his sentences, is remarkable, for the age in which he flourished. As a specimen, I shall here give a copy of his Preface to the Life of Charlemagne²⁵:

²⁴ In the Collection of Canisius, vol. ii. A. D. 884.

²⁵ Jo. Hermann. Schminckii Dissert. Historica. Histoire Liter. de la France, tom. iv. Cave, Hist. Lit.

Preface to
the Life of
Charles-
magne.

“ Vitam et conversationem, et ex parte non
 “ modica res gestas domini, et nutritoris mei
 “ Caroli excellentissimi, et merito famosissimi regis,
 “ postquam animus scribere tulit, quanta potui
 “ brevitate complexus sum : opera impendens,
 “ ut de his quæ ad notitiam pervenire potuerunt,
 “ nihil omitterem, neque prolixitate narrandi,
 “ nova quæque fastidientium animos offenderem :
 “ si tamen ullo modo vitari potest, ut nova scriptio-
 “ ne non offendantur, qui vetera, et a viris
 “ doctissimis atque disertissimis confecta monu-
 “ menta fastidiunt. Et quamvis plures esse non
 “ ambigam, qui otio ac literis dedicati, statum ævi
 “ præsentis non arbitrentur ita negligendum, ut
 “ omnia penitus, quæ nunc fiunt, velut nulla me-
 “ moria digna, silentio atque oblivioni traduntur,
 “ potiusque velint, amore diuturnitatis illecti,
 “ aliorum præclara facta qualibuscunque scriptis
 “ inferere, quam sui nominis famam posteritatis
 “ memoriæ nihil scribendo subtrahere : tamen ab
 “ hujusmodi descriptione non existimavi tempe-
 “ randum, quando mihi conscius eram, nullum ea
 “ veracius, quam me scribere posse, quibus ipse
 “ interfui, quæque præsens oculata, ut dicitur, fide
 “ cognovi, et utrum ab alio scriberentur necne,
 “ liquido scire non potui. Satiùs ergo judicavi,
 “ eadem cum aliis velut communiter literis man-
 “ data memoriæ posterorum tradere, quam regis
 “ excellentissimi, et omnium sua ætate maximi,
 “ clarissimam vitam, et egregios, atque moderni
 “ temporis hominibus vix imitabiles actus, pati
 “ oblivionis tenebris aboleri. Suberat et alia non
 “ irrationabilis, ut opinor, causa, quæ vel sola suf-
 “ ficere posset, ut me ad hæc scribenda compelle-
 “ ret : nutrimentum videlicet in me impensum;
 “ et perpetua, postquam in aula ejus conversari
 “ cœpi, cum ipso et liberis ejus amicitia, qua me
 “ ita

“ ita sibi devinxit, debitoremque tam vivo quam
 “ mortuo constituit, ut merito ingratus videri et
 “ judicari possem, si tot beneficiorum in me colla-
 “ torum immemor, clarissima et illustrissima ho-
 “ minis optimè de me meriti gesta silentio præte-
 “ rirem, patererque vitam ejus, quasi qui num-
 “ quam vixerit, sine literis ac debita laude manere.
 “ Cui scribendæ atque explicandæ non meum
 “ Ingeniolum, quod exile et parvum, imo nullum
 “ pene est, sed Tullianam par erat desudare fa-
 “ cundiam. En tibi librum præclarissimi et
 “ maximi viri memoriam continentem; in quo
 “ præter illius facta, non est quod admireris, nisi
 “ forte quod barbarus homo, et in Romana lo-
 “ cutione perparum exercitatus, aliquid me de-
 “ center aut commode Latine scribere posse puta-
 “ verim, atque in tantam impudentiam prorur-
 “ perim, ut illud Ciceronis putarem contemnend-
 “ dum, quod in primo Tusculanarum libro, cum
 “ de Latinis scriptoribus loqueretur, ita dixisse
 “ legitur: ‘mandare quenquam, inquit, literis
 “ cogitationes suos, qui eas nec disponere, nec
 “ illustrare possit, nec delectatione aliqua allicere
 “ lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis
 “ et otio et literis.’ Poterat quidem hæc oratoris
 “ egregii sententia me a scribendo deterrere, nisi
 “ animo premeditatum haberem, hominum ju-
 “ dicia potius experiri, et in scribendo in Ingenioli
 “ mei periculum facere, quam tanti viri memoriam,
 “ mihi parcendo, præterire.”

“ As soon as I had resolved to write the life and
 “ manners, and partly too the administration of my
 “ good patron, the noble and illustrious Charle-
 “ magne, I studied to comprehend it in the smallest
 “ possible compass, so as neither to omit any thing im-
 “ portant with which I was acquainted, nor to render
 “ my narration tedious by unnecessary prolixity. It

" is difficult, however, in any new style, to please
 " those who are accustomed fastidiously to disre-
 " gard the works of the most learned and eloquent
 " of former times. And though there are not
 " wanting, men of both learning and leisure who
 " have written; and are satisfied that the transac-
 " tions of the present times are worthy of being
 " recorded; and ought to be written any way, rather
 " than altogether neglected and unknown to pos-
 " terity; yet, undeterred by any thing of this
 " kind, I will not decline the duty which I owe
 " both to the present and future ages, as I am sen-
 " sible that no person can be so well acquainted
 " with the subject. In most of the transactions, I
 " was either personally engaged, or an eye-witness
 " of the manner in which they were conducted.
 " I have not been able to discover whether any
 " other person has attempted to write them, or
 " not; wherefore I determined to transmit to pos-
 " terity, (it may be in common with others, at
 " least to secure the remembrance of them); the
 " wonderful and inimitable life and actions of our
 " illustrious king.

" One reason above all others compelled me to
 " engage in this work,—the obligations which I
 " am under to him for my education, for the con-
 " fidence reposed in me since I was occupied and
 " entrusted intimately with state-affairs, and the
 " friendship with which I have been uniformly
 " honoured by his family: all these have bound
 " me never to forget, and as far I can to prevent
 " from being forgotten, the incomparable deeds
 " and memorable reign of this great man. The
 " subject I acknowledge is above my ability; and
 " would deserve the genius and eloquence of the
 " most illustrious Roman orator; but such as it is,
 " I here present you with the memoirs of Charle-

"magne, in which there is some reason to wonder
 "that I, originally a barbarian and little accus-
 "tomed to the Latin tongue, should be able to
 "write it with any degree of propriety; and that
 "I should venture to disregard the observation of
 "Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, on the Latin
 "authors, 'That the man both mis-spends his
 "time and wastes his paper, who is destitute of the
 "talents necessary to arrange his subject, to il-
 "lustrate it, and to render it agreeable and inte-
 "resting.' This observation, from such an au-
 "thor, might have deterred me; but other mo-
 "tives above described counteracted all fear, and
 "rather than the name and fame of Charlemagne
 "should perish, I determined to run every per-
 "sonal hazard."

The following description of two eclipses, one
 of the sun, the other of the moon, deserves atten-
 tion; both as it marks the accuracy of Eginhart,
 and forms a curious and almost singular specimen
 of practical astronomy at that period. *Annales*
A. D. 807.

"Anno superiore iv. Non. Septemb. fuit eclips-
 "sis Lunæ. Tunc stabat Sol in 16 parte Virginis,
 "Luna in 16 parte Piscium. Hoc autem 11. Ka-
 "lend. Febr. fuit Luna xvii. quando stella Jovis
 "quasi per eam transire visa est. Et 11. Id. Febr.
 "fuit eclipsis Solis media die, stante utroque
 "sidere in 25 parte Aquarii. Nam et stella Mer-
 "curii xv. Kal. April. visa est in Sole quasi
 "parva macula nigra paululum superius medio
 "centro ejusdem sideris, quæ a nobis octo dies
 "conspicata est, sed quando primum intravit vel
 "exiit, nubibus impendentibus minime notare
 "potuimus."

CHAP. V.

The History of the Arts in France, from Clovis,
A. D. 486, to the Death of Charlemagne,
A. D. 814.

SECT. I.

Of the necessary Arts.

LITERATURE, science, and the arts, are intimately connected: literature supplies the materials; science arranges them under their several principles; and art applies them with expertness and skill: They are frequently requisite, and may be happily combined on one subject, or in one pursuit; as in agriculture, or music, for example; each of which is capable of philosophical arrangement, and admits and requires practical dexterity.

An historical knowledge of the arts is not merely important and interesting in itself, but tends to show the general state and character of a country. Both learning and science may be sometimes neglected in the most flourishing state of a nation, and its very prosperity may occasionally be the means of withdrawing attention from them; but the existence of society, and its progress in civilization, depend on the practice and continual improvement of the arts.

The arts of agriculture, clothing, medicine, architecture, and of some others subordinate to these, in the country and period of which we treat, deserve our attention.

Fishing and
hunting.

In the rudest state of society, men usually subsist by fishing and hunting, and by the fruits which nature spontaneously produces. Both Gauls and Germans had passed this state, before history makes us at all acquainted with them : fishing and hunting were rather converted into amusements ; and they had become accustomed to secure abundance of provision, by feeding cattle, and cultivating the earth.

Pasture.

The pastoral and agricultural arts, indeed, are dependent on each other : cattle are productive by labour and manure, and both are necessary to successful culture ; while good and regular crops of grass and corn, increase the number, and improve the quality of cattle.

Agriculture

The Germans, Tacitus observes, rather neglected agriculture, lest it should render them unwarlike, and produce inequality of ranks : but though more zealous in the art of war, they were not altogether regardless of agriculture ; they only left it to the care and labour of those who, from their youth, sex, or age, were unfit for war.

In Gaul ;

The Gauls appear to have advanced far in the knowledge of agriculture in the time of Julius Cæsar. It was first introduced into Britain, he observes, by emigrants from Belgium. Pliny the elder says, that the use of manure was not uncommon in Gaul ; and he adds, which shews that he refers to remoter times, that its beneficial effects on the crop were perceptible for almost a whole century¹. He farther states, that the Ædui and Pictones enriched their lands with lime, which they found peculiarly salutary to vines and olives².

¹ " *Agriculturæ non student,*" Tacit. de morib. Germ.

² Pliny, lib. ii. c. 10.

³ Id. lib. xvii. c. 8. and Varro, lib. i. c. 7.

We may judge of the state of agriculture in a country, somewhat by the number of people which it is able to maintain. "Pasture-lands," says Montesquieu, "are but little peopled, because they find employment only for a few; corn-lands employ a great many, and vineyards infinitely more." In the Introduction to this History we endeavoured to shew, that Gaul, at the time of Julius Cæsar, contained not less than eighteen millions of people: allowing but half a peck, or four pounds only, of meal a week to every person, Helvetia alone, which was but two hundred and forty miles long by one hundred and eighty broad, and contained three hundred and sixty-eight thousand people, must have sown above five millions of acres, and raised fifty millions of bolts of grain. Now Helvetia was so much inferior in respect of agriculture or fertility, that its inhabitants were attempting to leave it, and settle in some of the more fertile provinces of Gaul*.

Agriculture usually keeps pace with the other necessary or subordinate arts. Masons, carpenters, and smiths, must have been numerous, and generally spread over the country; for while Cæsar describes the wall of a fortified city, which required some ingenuity and expertness, he observes, that it was like the walls of every other fortified city in Gaul†. His account of the fleet of the Veneti‡, proves still more both the ingenuity and expertness of their artists. But we cannot suppose their smiths and carpenters were so far advanced in these useful arts, without applying them to the manufacture of the instruments of husbandry; the Roman writers accordingly represent the Gauls as more

* Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. 1.

† Lib. vii. c. 22.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 3-13.

advanced in the art, and particularly in the implements, of agriculture, than the Romans.

The following facts and declarations show an improved state of agriculture.—When the Helvetii marched to conquer Gaul, they were able to carry as much corn with them, being three hundred and sixty-eight thousand in number, as would have served them for three months; and they burnt a considerable quantity which they did not want⁷. The country about Thoulouse, Cæsar says, was very rich and fertile⁸. About Mont Cenis it was *copiosissima*, abounding in corn⁹. The Allobroges, on the east bank of the Rhone, were able not only to supply themselves, but to provide the Helvetii with corn, on their being subdued, and restored to their country¹⁰; and the Rhemi assured Cæsar, that the country about Soissons was exceedingly fertile. Similar references might be made to almost every district of Gaul. But we may conclude with observing, that in the memorial presented to Cæsar by Divitiacus the Æduan, in name of the other states, against Ariovistus, Gaul is said to be far superior to Germany, both in agriculture and in the general mode of living¹¹.

in Germany;
in Greece;

in Greece;

The Grecian colony settled at Marseilles naturally brought with them from Ionia, among the other arts, that of agriculture. Almost all the corns and fruits known in France, have been ascribed by some authors to their importation of them.

So early as the times of Homer, the Greeks appear to have been conversant in agriculture; for he often alludes to the art, and its various operations, Theophrastus¹², three centuries before the Christian

⁷ Cæsar. de Bel. Gal. lib. i. c. 4.

⁸ Lib. i. c. 8.

⁹ Lib. i. c. 19.

¹⁰ Lib. i. c. 21.

¹¹ Lib. i. c. 23.

¹² De Hist. Plant. lib. viii. c. 9.

ara, observes, that the Greek farmers ploughed down their beans while in the flower for manure. Pliny, describing marl and its effects, says, the Greeks have not omitted to mention this; for is there any thing which has not been tried by them¹³?

But the greatest revolution in agriculture, was, in Italy, most probably produced in Gaul by the Romans. Notwithstanding the fertility of which Cæsar speaks so often, both he and his lieutenants suffered repeatedly from the want of a sufficient supply of corn: they and their successors therefore studied to introduce more extensively the most zealous spirit, and the most improved modes of agriculture. From this period, then, we may consider the two countries, Italy and Gaul, as nearly in the same state with respect to instruments of husbandry, manures, crops, cattle, &c.

The Romans were acquainted with all the instruments of husbandry now in use, and even others which are now unknown. Virgil describes and measures the plough as follows:

*Haic a stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
Bina aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso, &c.*
Georg. I. 171.

They used the plough in various forms, for stiff or for light soils, for drilling, for covering the seed, and for water furrows; with and without the mould-board, the culter, and wheels, as in modern times. They had different kinds too of harrows, field-rakes, and hoes, for breaking the soil, for covering the seed, and for cutting and clearing away the weeds¹⁴.

¹³ Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. c. 5. 7. 8. and Columella, lib. i. c. 1. mentions forty, and Varro, lib. i. c. 1. fifty, Greek writers on agriculture.

¹⁴ Cat. c. 135. Varro, lib. i. c. 29. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 20. Virgil. Georg. I. 169.

As it is of great importance to chuse and duly to occupy the proper seasons for the respective operations of husbandry, the Romans and Gauls were studious to apportion every kind of labour to its own time, and every mode or form to its peculiar situation. They would not plough the land when it was wet: they made narrow furrows, in order to divide and mingle the soil, and especially in strong clay lands. They were careful not to prevaricate, or make crooked serpentine ridges; but to make straight furrows and ridges¹⁵.

They considered frequent fallowing, as essential to good crops; and gave three ploughings to the field intended for wheat, and two to that intended for barley, besides the seed furrows¹⁶.

Pliny gives the following general directions with respect to the seasons of ploughing: "In warm climates, the land should be ploughed as soon as possible after the winter solstice; in cold climates, after the vernal equinox; and sooner in a dry country than in a wet; sooner in a stiff than in a free soil; and sooner in a fat soil than in a lean. Where the summers are dry and warm, the chalky and thin soil should be ploughed between the summer solstice and autumnal equinox; where the summers are wet, and but moderately hot, it is better to plough the fat and foul lands in the heats. A deep and heavy soil is best ploughed in winter, and a thin and dry soil a little before the time of sowing¹⁷."

¹⁵ Columella, lib. xi. c. 4. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 19.

¹⁶ "Alternis idem terras cessare novales,"

¹⁷ "Et segnem patiētem sibi durescere campum."

Virg. Geor. l. 7. 7.

"Virgilius alternis cessare arva suadet."

Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 21.

¹⁷ Ibid. lib. xviii. c. 19.

The same author observes, that "it requires art to scatter the seed equally in sowing; that the hand should always move with the step, and keep time with the right foot."

The manures among the Romans were various. Manures.
The most natural was that of cattle on the lands pastured by them; they next collected it by confining and littering them; and then they carried it wherever, and spread it in whatever proportions, they chose. They gathered ashes, burned trees, shrubs, and stubble; mixed and turned different earths; and frequently sowed pulse to be ploughed in green: in short, they collected every thing that would rot, to make manure¹⁹.

The Romans had probably learnt to use lime as a manure, from the Gauls. In burning the lime-stone, the latter used wood chiefly, and kept the fuel below in a furnace, separate from the lime.

Mash also had become common as a manure in Pliny's time. He describes it by its colours, white, red, and dove-coloured; by its supposed component parts, clay, stone, and sand; by its qualities, acrid and fat; and by the kinds of crop for which they were observed to be most suitable²⁰.

The same author shows that draining was then sufficiently understood and practised²¹.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the Romans studied attentively the various kinds of soil, and the suitableness of one kind of crop to each of them, in preference to another²².

¹⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 24.

²⁰ Columella, lib. xi. c. 15.

²¹ Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. c. 5—8.

²² Ibid. lib. xviii.

²² Besides Pliny, lib. xviii. see the following passages of Virgil's Georgics may be consulted; lib. ii. line 217. 220. 230. Their

Their crops were numerous : besides the ordinary species of corn, as wheat, barley, beans, and peas, they raised vetches, turnips, vines, olives, millet, rapeseed, panic, radish, fenugreek, &c. &c.

As Pliny mentions in one passage both the crops and the kind of soil suited to them, I shall give the following translation of it :

Mode of
culture.

“ Such a difference of soil,” he says, “ points out the necessity of describing the kinds proper for the different crops. This is Cato’s opinion, that corn should be sown on land that is stiff, rich, and in good heart ; that radish, millet, and panic, should first be sown in cold and wet soils, and afterwards in warm ; that lupines should be sown in the red soil, the soil called *palla*, or sandy soil, if they are not wet ; *far*, in moister soils, of a chalky nature, and red colour ; *tritium*, in dry land, not liable to weeds, nor in a shade ; beans, in strong soils ; *filigo* and *tritium*, in open and exposed fields, that receive greatest benefit from the heat of the sun ; legums, in uncultivated and red soils, where there is not much grass ; barley, on fallow, and land so rich as to carry a crop every year. Spring-sowing should be used in places that cannot conveniently be sown in autumn, and in soil whose fatness can carry constant crops : this maxim too, is exact. These things should be sown in shallow soil, that do not require much sap, as the *cytisus* and *cicer* : legumes are excepted, which are pulled up, and not reaped by cutting ; hence they are called legumes, because thus gathered. In fat soil, should be sown such things as require much food, as, garden herbs, *tritium*, *filigo*, flax : so, for the same reason, the shallow soil is allotted for barley, because it does not require much food ;

“ and

“and the richer and stiffer for *triticum*. In low grounds *far*, rather than *triticum*, should be sown: in grounds neither very high nor low, sow both *triticum* and barley. Hilly ground produces plumper *triticum*, or wheat; but not so large a crop: *far* and *siligo* prefer chalky and wet soils.”

The Romans were careful, not only to suit crops to soils, but to regulate the succession of crops: thus on light soil, they sowed barley, millet, radish, and barley again, dunging the field only once for all these in rotation²². Wheat and beans were sown alternately, in continued succession. The other varieties, which are tedious, may be seen in the authors quoted below²³: these varieties, however, must depend on the extent of the farm, and the access to plenty of manure.

The Romans did not generally approve of large farms; one of their maxims was, “Plough much, and sow little:” and

“ — Laudato ingentia rura;

“ Exiguum colito.” Virgil. *Geor.* ii. 412.

“If your fields are greater than you can well cultivate, they will oppress and ruin you.”

Paridius had two daughters, to the eldest of whom, on her marriage, he gave a third of his vineyard as her portion, and notwithstanding reaped as much fruit as before: on the marriage of the other, he gave her the half of what remained, and still the produce of the vineyard was not diminished. How shall we account for this, but by supposing that the only third which he retained, was much better cultivated than the whole had been before²⁴?

²² Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xviii. c. 17.

²³ Lib. xviii. c. 23, 26.

²⁴ Id. *Ibid.* Varro, lib. i. c. 44. Virgil. *Geor.* lib. i. 73, 77.

²⁵ Columella, lib. iv. c. 3.

The seasons for sowing must vary according to climate. The Romans sowed wheat, and other autumnal crops, from the 24th of October to the middle of December; and their seed-time in the spring, was from the melting of the snows, that is as early as the weather would permit, till the middle or end of March²⁷.

The quantity of seed was proportioned to the nature of the soil. A *jugerum*, or acre of fat soil, Columella says, required four *modii* of wheat; if middling soil, it required five²⁸.

The corn, that is wheat, barley, &c. was generally ready for cutting from the middle of May to the end of June²⁹.

Produce.

There are some instances of very great increase, as the 400 stalks from one grain, sent to Augustus from Africa; and the 360, sent to Nero³⁰: but the ordinary produce, was from 50 to 75 *modii* of wheat from one acre, that is from ten to fifteen after one³¹; or from 20.4 bushels to 32.1 upon the English acre; or from 25.6 to 38.4 firlots upon the Scotch acre. A *modius* was a little more than an English peck. A *modius* of Gallic wheat weighed about 20 *librae*, or pounds.

Cicero, in his oration against Verres, says, that wheat was sold by law at three *sestertii per modium*; that is, about sixteen shillings sterling per quarter.

In the time of Pliny the younger, the ordinary price of wheat had risen to 12 *sestertii* the *modius*, 3*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.* the quarter, or 1*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.* the boll.

²⁷ Dickson's Husbandry of the Ancients, ch. 25.

²⁸ Lib. ii. c. 9. Varro is of the same opinion; but Pliny says that six *modii* are necessary for an acre of inferior soil. Lib. xviii. c. 24.

²⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 26.

³⁰ Ibid. c. 10.

³¹ Varro, lib. i. c. 44. See also Cicero's oration against Verres; and observe that *modicuum* is six *modii*.

In Varro's time it was only $\frac{1}{16}$ of 847, the quarter; or 16s. 6d. the boll. In the days of Varro, an acre of land paid 14.99 modii of sent. In the time of Columella or Pliny, it paid only 3.34 modii. So that before the lapse of a century, land had fallen to less than a fourth of its value³².

Meadow or grass farms were much recommended by some of the wisest of the Romans, because the expence of culture was trifling, and the crop was generally considerable and sure.

They usually cut their meadows twice, first in May, and again in August or September.

A good mower cut a *jugerum* in a day, and one bound in a day 1200 bundles of hay, of 4 pounds weight each, which being 4800 *librae* Roman, is 5825 pounds Avoirdupois on an English acre; or 7323 pounds Avoirdupois, or 327 stone Trolé on the Scotch acre.

The Gauls, it is observed by Pliny³³, cut their grass more dextrously than the Italians; and it is probable from his account, that their mode of doing it resembled that now in Britain.

The Romans do not appear to have inclosed their particular fields; but the fences around the farm in general, or along highways, or around orchards and gardens, were like those which are now common, of briars and thorns, of earthen dyke and ditch, of stakes, or unburnt bricks; but the Gauls, Varro says, burnt the bricks of which they built their fences³⁴.

In Italy, they appear, in reaping their crops, to have first cut off the ears with a hook, then to have thrown them into a basket and carried them to the barn, where they cut the straw afterwards probably with

³² Husbandry of the Ancients, ch. 28.

³³ Lib. xviii. c. 23.

³⁴ Lib. i. c. 14.

" black eyes, hairy ears, close-set jaws, flat noses,
 " blackish lips, thick and long necks, hanging down
 " dewlaps; round ribbed, thick shouldered, not
 " humped, but the back-bone gently declining
 " downwards; round in the hips, with tails hanging
 " down to their heels, and the lower part of them
 " very rough with hair; legs rather short, the knee
 " joints straight, a little protuberant, and at a pro-
 " per distance from each other; the feet not broad,
 " nor such as clank when going; the divisions of
 " the hoofs not wide, and the hoofs themselves
 " smooth and equal; the hide to the touch not
 " rough or hard, the strongest of which is the hide
 " of a black colour; second, that of a red; third,
 " that of a dun; and fourth, that of a white co-
 " lour."

The advantage of using oxen so much, in pre-
 ference to horses, was, that they were less expence
 in the first cost, were more easily reared, and main-
 tained at a much cheaper rate. If they were pro-
 perly taken care of there was no loss, but on the
 contrary gain, in selling them after several years' use;
 and besides the advantage of immediate labour, they
 contributed to supply the butcher-market with
 abundance of wholesome provision. Horses are
 certainly more active and expeditious, but more
 delicate; and when incapable of working, were lost
 to the farmer's stock.

Such is a general view of the state of agriculture
 among the Romans for near a century before Christ,
 when Varro flourished, till near the end of the first
 century after Christ, when Pliny the elder died.

State of
 Agriculture
 the same in
 Italy and
 Gaul.

The frequent references of the Roman writers
 on agriculture, to the state of Gaul in those times,
 and the accounts which they give of the superiority

⁴⁰ Var. lib. xi. c. 7. Husbandry of the Ancients, ch. 44.

of the Gauls in several articles in husbandry, give us ground to conclude, that whether the Romans learned from the Gauls, or the Gauls from the Romans, they became in a century or two nearly equal. The great intercourse, the preference which many of the Romans gave to a residence in the *Romana Provincia* of Gaul, and the ready communication of learning and of the arts to one another, must have soon placed two countries so nearly equal in climate and natural felicity, entirely on a level with respect to the art of husbandry.

In this state, then, we may reasonably suppose they continued, till they were disturbed by the several swarms of Barbarians which poured over the country; who, though they did not altogether dispossess the former husbandmen, yet interrupted and suspended their operations. Agriculture is a more delicate art than is generally imagined, and liable to be affected by frequent or violent changes of farmers and management. Considerable alterations undoubtedly did take place, on the settlement of the Goths in Aquitania, of the Vandals in Burgundy, and of the Franks in Neustria. The two former nations claimed two-thirds of the conquered lands⁴⁴, and must of course have very much altered both the state of property, and the management of the affairs of husbandry. The claim of the Franks is more uncertain; they were so much a warlike peo-

Altered
somewhat by
the settle-
ments of the
Barbarians.

⁴⁴ "De his, qui tertiam mancipiorum, et duas terrarum partes, contra interdictum publicum præsumpserint." *Leges Burgundiorum*, tit. 54.

"Divisio inter Gothum et Romanum facta de portione terrarum, sive sylvarum, nulla ratione turbetur, si tamen probatur celebrata divisio. Née de duabus partibus Gothi aliquid sibi Romanus præsumat, aut vindicet; aut de tertia Romani Gothus sibi aliquid audeat usurpare aut vindicare." &c. *Leg. Visig.* lib. x. tit. 1. l. 8.

plé, that they probably dealt more favourably with those whom they subjected to their dominion.

Though the conquests made by these barbarians may be considered as forming a great revolution, and a remarkable æra in the history of agriculture in Gaul, yet we must not suppose that husbandry was either neglected, or much discouraged by them. It is true, they despised it themselves, and especially the Franks, but their contempt was all in favour of it; for by that means it remained under nearly the same management as before, whereas in their hands it must have suffered extremely.

Their laws
favour agri-
culture.

Besides, the laws of all these three victorious nations are very favourable to husbandry; so that if they despised the art themselves, yet they gave protection and encouragement to those who studied and exercised it. And such as chuse to consult the laws referred to below, will find that agricultural affairs must have revived and prospered some time after the settlement of the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, in Gaul⁴².

Horses appear to have become more frequent in France, than they had been among the farmers of Italy. They are often mentioned in the laws of these three barbarous nations, and particularly in those of the Franks; and the farm kind of horse too, is distinguished from the war-horse, and rated at a lower value.

⁴² For the protection of mills and mill utensils, see Leg. Visig. lib. vii. tit. 2. lib. xii. 8. 4. 30. Legis Salic. tit. 25.

For the protection of fields, fences, orchards, vineyards, &c. Visig. lib. viii. tit. 2. et lib. x. 1. 3. Burgund. tit. 27, 28. 31. 49. 55. 63, 64. Salic. tit. 27. 37.

For the protection of cattle, Visig. lib. viii. tit. 1—8. Burgund. Sal. tit. 2—9.

For the protection of bees, Visig. lib. viii. tit. 6. Salic. tit. 9.

Carts appear to have been frequent among the Franks, but we have no description of them, or their ploughs, or of other instruments in husbandry, though it is most probable that they were in general similar to those of the Romans.

They,

They, as well as other cattle and sheep, were generally pastured in the woods and commons, with bells about the necks of several, in order the more readily to discover them⁴³.

From this period till the ninth century, we meet with almost no facts to mark the state of agriculture with precision. But, amidst that fanaticism in religion, which drove men from active labour in the fields to idle retirement in monasteries, and that constant disposition in the princes and mayors to civil and foreign wars, we have reason to think that the spirit of husbandry declined. It is in the most cursory manner that Gregory of Tours mentions any thing relating to it; and he does it, not on its own account, but to mark the period of the year, or something else of a miraculous nature. Thus he informs us, that a person having acted impiously in January, was cutting hay with a scythe at the usual period of hay-cutting in May, when he caught a fever and died⁴⁴. Charlemagne published some capitularies in favour of husbandry; but one of these proves that it was in a declining state, and that his attention was more occupied with religious than agricultural ideas⁴⁵.

The state of agriculture in subsequent ages, little known.

The culture of vines was an important part of ancient husbandry. We can trace it back to Noah. It was well-known to the Greeks, and by them it was transmitted to the Romans, and by the colony from Ionia to the Gauls. It is uncertain which of these countries first acquired the knowledge of it; but the Roman writers speak of the vineyards and wines of the Gauls, with all the familiarity with

Culture of vines.

⁴³ There was a considerable penalty for stealing these bells off the cattle. *Lex Salic. tit. 27.*

⁴⁴ *Greg. Tur. lib. viii. c. 40.*

⁴⁵ *Capitul. lib. iii. cap. 66. and lib. vi. cap. 45. "ut non aretur in bove simul et asino."*

which they treat of the culture and manufacture of them in Italy. Pliny, for example, observing that some vines support themselves, adds, that the winds however prevent this in the province of Narbonne⁴⁶. He speaks of the pitchy taste of the wine of Vienne, of Auvergne, on the banks of the Seine, and the Helvetian hills; and Martial, and other writers on this subject, notice the smoky taste of the wines of Marseilles⁴⁷. The Gallic wine, Pliny says, was most valued in Italy⁴⁸.

Pliny treats the subject at great length in his fourteenth book; and again, from the twenty-first chapter of the seventeenth, he has collected into a regular system all that had been written on it before. He describes the soils and situations fittest for the vines, as south aspects somewhat elevated; he shows the manner of planting them, and the distance usually observed between the rows; the various modes of ingrafting and inoculating them; of supporting them chiefly by means of poplar trees, and of pruning them⁴⁹. He treats of the various species of wines, and of their natural and medicinal qualities; of their manufacture, preservation, improvement, and proper age. In a word, it appears from him that the subject was then thoroughly understood, both in Italy and Gaul.

The following passage from Columella, shows the comparative value in which vineyards were held in his time. Having said that he agreed in opinion with Cato, who had written on that subject before him, that the culture of vines is most productive to the husbandman, he adds, "that the produce of 2000

⁴⁶ Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. c. 1.

⁴⁷ "Improba Massiliæ quicquid sumaria cogunt." Lib. x. epigr. 36.

⁴⁸ "Et in Italia Gallicam uvam placere, trans Alpes vero Picenam." Lib. xiv. c. 3.

⁴⁹ Lib. xvii.

"grapes

"grapes from one vine at Ceretanium, was very great, and that 800 stocks planted in his own vineyard only two years before, yielded seven *culei* (143 gallons $3\frac{1}{2}$ pints English); that the best vineyards produced at the rate of 100 *amphoræ*⁵⁰ the acre, while meadows, pasture, and woods, are thought moderately good when they yield at the rate of a hundred *sestertii* the acre; and we scarcely remember," says he, "when a field of corn over any part of Italy produced four after one".

At this rate an acre of vineyard, reckoning the seven *culei* at the vineyard worth 300 *nummi* or *sestertii*, and a *sestertius* at $3\frac{1}{2}d.$, yielded £. 2 8 $4\frac{1}{2}$. Meadows, pasture, and woods, *per* acre, 0 16 $1\frac{1}{2}$. Corn at four after one, *per* ditto, and

at 10*s.* *per* boll,

- 2 0 0

On this subject I may further observe, that the ordinary price of a vine-dresser (for country servants, as well as those of the town, were bought and sold), was eight thousand *sestertii*, or 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*⁵¹; whereas a ploughman, or ordinary labourer, was 60*l.* Each labourer was allowed at the rate of three pounds Avoirdupois of bread, or more, a day. In winter, the bailiff, says Cato, should have four *modii*, say pecks, of wheat a month, and in summer four and a half; the shepherd three; the common labourers four pounds of bread each in winter, and from the time they begin to dig the vineyard to the ripening of the figs, they should have five pounds⁵². With this bread, each was also allowed about an English pint and a half of weak wine called *lora* daily; but in this article they were not much restricted.

⁵⁰ The *amphora* was the twentieth of a *culeus*, or about nine gallons English.

⁵¹ Lib. iii. c. 3.

⁵² Id. *ibid.*

⁵³ Cato, cap. 56.

To these were added, fish, fruit, pulse, &c. as their ordinary food.

The clothes of the slaves or labourers, which the masters also furnished, were, a coat three feet and a half long, a gown, *centones*, or the old clothes repaired, and a pair of shoes once in two years*.

Now supposing the price of a slave changed into an annuity or yearly wages, when money at Rome gave six *per cent.*

Rome gave six <i>per cent.</i>	-	-	£. 7
His maintenance a year, might be	-	-	15
And his clothes and lodging, about	-	-	3

£. 25

From which general statement it appears, that the price of labour was then moderate, and not very different from what it was till lately in this country.

Such is a general view of the culture of vines in Italy and Gaul; for on this subject the two countries were nearly on a par before they were invaded by the Barbarians; and though considerable variations afterwards might have taken place, facts are wanting to ascertain their times and circumstances with precision.

S E C T. II.

Of the Arts continued.

Art of architecture.

THE condition and character of a people, their rudeness or refinement, their poverty or wealth, the progress of their civilization and power, may be known and illustrated by considering the degree of improvement to which they have attained in the art of architecture. None of the European na-

* Cato, cap. 59.

tions, who have extended their duration into modern times, either began their improvements in this art so early, or so rapidly, as the people of Gaul: long before the death of Charlemagne, architecture had not only been carried to a high degree of perfection, but in several of its more elegant accomplishments had suffered a considerable decline.

The origin of architecture among a rude people, must be nearly similar in every country. Such of them as had no caves or dens to which they could resort for protection, either against wild beasts or the weather, naturally formed huts of those materials which were most easily procured, and readily constructed. They erected these temporary dwellings very slight, as they were often shifting their residence from one place to another, in search of more abundant pasture and provision. For walls, they erected forked stakes; and weaving these with twigs, they covered them with mud: or they built their walls with clay, supporting them with wood, and for a roof, they covered them with boughs, or reeds, or rushes. "To this day," says Vitruvius, "some foreign nations, as in Gaul and Spain, construct their dwellings of such materials."

Every hut may be supposed to have contained one family, and every village, or collection of huts, a tribe; or as many of one tribe as was convenient for the extent or fertility of the territory. The Suevi consisted of a hundred such villages; or *pagi*; each of which could produce yearly a thousand men able to bear arms. The houses of these villages, however, were scattered over an extensive

¹ Lib. ii. c. i.

district, and not placed like modern towns, in a regular order².

In early times, and especially in the northern provinces, the Gauls resembled the Germans in their manners and mode of living³: but the former appear to have been more early settled than the latter; and they seem very early to have been a more numerous people. By the time of Julius Cæsar, before which we cannot even conjecture concerning their number, we do not over-rate them at about eighteen or nineteen millions.

The first strangers who settled among them were the Phocæan colony, a cultivated, active, and powerful people, who, escaping from the yoke which Cyrus was imposing on Greece, came and settled on the south coast of Gaul; built Marseilles about six hundred years before the Christian æra, and extended themselves, their arts, and culture, over all the adjacent regions. Their native country may be considered almost as the parent of architecture; for whatever knowledge of this art had been previously derived from Egypt, the Greeks certainly carried it to a degree of perfection beyond which it hath scarcely ever been able to extend. The principles of the art, its manner, its characters, its technical terms, are all of Grecian invention and origin. To the settlement of this colony at Marseilles, then, we ascribe one cause of the high cultivation of architecture in the south of Gaul.

The Romans were early attracted towards this country by their respect for these Grecians; by

² *Vicos locant non in nostrum morem connexis et coherentibus ædificiis; suam quisque domum spatio circumdat.*
Tacit. de morib. Germ.

³ Strabo, lib. vii.

the admiration of their maritime skill and bravery, which they had seen displayed against the Carthaginians especially, their virulent and powerful rivals; by observing their industry in trade, and zeal in commerce; and by their ambition to learn, from a people so cultivated, and who were so much nearer to them than Athens, the seat of learning, that literature, and those useful and elegant arts in which the Greeks were then allowed almost universally to excel.

The skill of the Grecians, combined with the wealth and power of the Romans, in times when the Roman empire had reached its utmost height of prosperity and glory, were calculated to give an uncommon vigour and lustre to all the arts, and to none more than architecture, in the southern provinces of Gaul. At the time when Vitruvius wrote, whether that was in the reign of Augustus or of Titus, we have reason to consider this art as nearly in a similar state of improvement in Italy and Gaul, at Rome and Marseilles.

Their materials were also nearly similar; lime and sand, a third of the former to two-thirds of the latter, for mortar; and, for the most part, they both preferred brick to stone. But the Gauls were more expert in making bricks; the Romans dried them in the sun, and, by law, they were required to be at least two years, but for public buildings five years old, before they could be used. In Gaul they burnt them, and so could not only use them immediately, but afford them on the whole at a cheaper rate. Varro speaks of them accordingly as peculiar to the Gauls, and as used by them even in the construction of their garden-walls and fences*. With these materials they built their

Materials

* Lib. i. c. 14.

still retained generally somewhat of the above external plan. In planning a country-house, says Palladius, the first thing to be studied is to have it well-lighted; and then that the apartments intended for the different seasons, front the quarter of the heavens adapted to them: that is, the summer-rooms should front the north, the winter-rooms the south, and the spring and autumn-rooms the east.

Pliny's
villa.

The younger Pliny's villa at Laurentinum, as described by himself, will exemplify the internal plan generally of these buildings. Having passed through an outer court, you entered a vestibule or porch like the letter D, which formed a cheerful *cavædium*, or piazza; thence, on the right, you passed into the dining-room, which, says he, is tolerably handsome, washed by the light waves, and commanding a prospect as it were of three seas: he probably means that it was semicircular, having three windows in the arch. Behind, on the same floor, were similar apartments, and in the same form and order, the *cavædium*, porch, and area. On the left, was a large bed-chamber and a smaller, the former looking to the east, the latter to the west: another circular chamber receives the sun's rays from morning to night: with it, is connected a small study, and a sleeping closet. On the same side were the servants' apartments; some of them so decent that they might occasionally accommodate strangers. On the other side, corresponding to the wing containing the servants' apartments, was the principal bed-chamber; a parlour, well-lighted, and having a fine prospect toward the sea; then a well-sheltered winter bed-room, with an anti-chamber; and adjoining, on the same common wall, another bed-room and anti-chamber. Adjacent to these are warm and cold baths, spacious

elious and abundant, so that you may have room if you please to swim. On leaving the baths, you find, conveniently situated, stoves; ointments, hand-some dressing-closets: and at no great distance, a tennis-court; a tower with summer-houses in it; a supping parlour, commanding the most delightful prospect both of the sea and of a beautiful and populous country. Corresponding to this there was another tower, in which there was a bed-chamber open to the sun as long as he was above the horizon. Behind it, was the barn and granary; and under it, another dining-room, the foundation of which was washed by the gentle wave, and the windows of which looked into the garden and shrubbery.

No notice is taken in the above description by Pliny, of columns, though there must have been a considerable number of them in the piazzas: nor does he allude at all to any order or principle of architecture, though they were familiarly known in Italy in his time. The knowledge and study of architecture was imported from Greece, and by means of the Phocæan colony, was probably cultivated and carried into practice as early and successfully at Marseilles as at Rome.

A principal subject of study in architecture, is the proportions of columns, and the figures of their capitals; according to which they have received different names, and are said to be of different orders. Vitruvius derives the Doric name and

Architectural orders.

^a It is difficult to conceive exactly the external elevation and plan of this villa. The projections were numerous, but whether were they rectangular? Did they stretch out from the corner, like a bastion in a regular fortification? or did they extend nearly in a straight line, as wings from the main building, which contained the *cavadium*, principal dining-room, &c. Plin. epist. xvii.

order

order from a temple built by Dorus, son of Helen, and grandson of Deucalion, at Argos, in honour of Juno. It is said to be the most ancient of all the orders : its height, including its base and capital, was equal to six, and afterwards to seven of its diameters ; originally it had no base ; the entablature, including architrave, frise, and cornice, was a fourth of the whole height.

The Ionians, an Athenian colony under the conduct of Ion, nephew of Dorus, studied to improve the Doric column. Their more delicate taste approved of feminine slenderness, rather than of masculine strength : they added another diameter to the height of the Doric column ; they channelled or fluted it perpendicularly ; and, whether in imitation of curled bark or hair, they made volutes to depend from the architrave or chapter.

The Corinthian order, invented long after by Callimachus, is little more than an additional ornament to the chapter of the Ionian column. He is said to have taken the hint from observing the manner in which the plant *acanthus* encompassed a basket which had been accidentally placed over it, and in which its luxuriant branches were reverted by a tile, which covered and extended over the edges of the basket. Its proportions are somewhat more slender than the Ionian, and it admits of more ornaments both on its base and entablature.

The Tuscan was more robust and unadorned than any of these orders ; and the Composite, so named because compounded of them all, approaches nearest to the Corinthian order, and is rather considered as a species of it.

These principles of columns, of their bases, and entablatures, are applicable to various other ornamental parts of buildings, and constitute their
general

general style or character: the Greeks used them modestly in their private buildings, and were profuse of ornament in their magnificent public edifices. For two centuries, during the end of the republic and the progress of the empire, the Romans displayed an exquisite taste and prodigious wealth and luxury, both in their private and public edifices; but about the end of the second, or beginning of the third century, their genius and taste declined, and simplicity, majesty, and beauty, gave place to the love of singularity, and to the other ornaments of vanity and a false taste. Tacitus is of opinion that genius disappeared after the battle of Actium: the fact, as far as Tacitus affirms it, cannot be successfully questioned: the causes deserve our attentive enquiry.

In proportion as the Romans extended their conquests, they became acquainted with foreign nations and customs. Their imagination glowed with the love of novelty; and they preferred an imperfect imitation of what was seen or imported, to what was common or of home-invention. They did not consult so much what was suitable to climate, to situation, or in general to utility and taste, as what was calculated to display their opulence, and at the same time their knowledge and admiration of foreign manners.

Causes of
the decline
of architecture.

There are some, chiefly temporary, commotions and revolutions of states and empires, which awaken latent genius, and excite a spirit of enquiry and improvement; but frequent and tumultuous political changes must produce uncertainty and fear; must depress the mind, and discourage the exertions, and even the common operations of genius. They are not only unfavourable directly to the man of science and taste himself, but they repress the enterprises and liberality of those who are necessary

cessary to foster and patronise him. With some exceptions, the emperors themselves, for more than two centuries, reigned with dignity, and their reign was of some continuance; but after the Antonines, and especially after Alexander Severus, their succession was rapid and irregular, and the empire and the arts declined fast together.

During the decline of the empire, the principal public structures were Christian churches. The most ancient heathen temples having no roof, needed no windows, and yet were light and cheerful. Some of them, intended to convene the greater part of the inhabitants of a large city, were of course of a prodigious magnitude. Strabo, lib. xvii., describing one of this kind in Egypt, says: "You first enter a paved area of near an acre broad, and about three or four times that length. On each side as you advance, the whole length, are placed sphinxes, twenty cubits distant from one another. Thence you pass into three magnificent vestibules, one after another, and then into the temple itself, which is spacious. If the shrine, which is comparatively small, contains any image of deity, it is not in any thing like human, but in a bestial shape. From each side of the nave, or main area of the temple, two aisles project, of equal height with the temple, and nearly of equal breadth, but contracting as they recede: on the walls of these are sculptured large images, like the work of the ancient Tuscans and Grecians." In Egypt, where there was no rain, a roof was unnecessary.

In Greece and Italy, the roofs of temples were supported by two or four rows of pillars lengthways, and by one or two rows transverse at the upper end. These sacred edifices, in imitation of those which had no roof, were light and cheerful.

But

But the first Christians necessarily and prudently studied concealment. Before the time of Constantine, their churches had neither many nor large windows: their minds, long accustomed to this obscurity, came to associate a certain gloom with a place of worship. When their fear of persecution was entirely removed by the conversion of Constantine, they began to restore light and cheerfulness to their churches; but the public taste was by that time corrupted, genius was departed, and the Christian churches, instead of resuming the more ancient taste and mode of structure, submitted rather to other causes which began to affect architecture.

The barbarous nations who invaded the empire, and settled in its different provinces, the Franks, Burgundians, and Visigoths in Gaul, the Saracens in Spain, and the Goths and Lombards in Italy, could not fail to affect the modes of building, by consulting, in any public structures reared during their government, their own architectural habits and customs. The colder regions of the north had accustomed those from Germany and the shores of the Baltic, to study warmth rather than light. The natural scenes of their country, and their warlike genius and habits, from whatever country they came, taught them to regard strength more than elegance.

If the monastic spirit did not immediately influence the structure of churches, it tended to corrupt the public taste, in so far at least as it affected the plan and structure of numerous abbeys and monasteries. Seclusion from the world being one great end of them, solitude and gloom were studied in their architecture.

The wars arising from the frequent animosities of the Merovingian princes, from their own ambition,

bition, and from the ambition of their mayors, and the feudal wars, which became more eminent towards the end of the Carlovingian race, rendered strength and security necessary in the structure both of private and public buildings.

From all these causes, the principles and taste in architecture must have undergone a great change in the course of several centuries. To that system which succeeded, the general name of Gothic has been given, which is understood to distinguish buildings that have not been constructed according to any of the five orders of architecture prevalent in the days of Vitruvius: that Gothic system, however, has been subdivided, perhaps chiefly in England, into the species of Saxon, Norman, and Saracenic. The first, though adopted in the times of the Saxons, was undoubtedly copied from the continent, and chiefly from France, after those models which were built in the earlier and purer times of architecture: the second differs not in any material principles from the first; it is only understood to be planned on a larger scale, and executed with rather inferior taste and elegance. The chief difference betwixt both these and the Saracenic, or modern Gothic, is understood to be, that the arch of the former is semicircular, that of the latter is sharp and pointed, being an angle formed by the intersection of two larger arches. Sir Christopher Wren was of opinion that it was introduced by the crusaders from Arabia: any farther enquiry at present, however, on this subject, is foreign to the period of which we treat, and will be more suitably investigated afterwards.

Few examples occur in the French historians, of any thing which has the least relation to the art of architecture; and even in the few which do occur, we find a representation of their general magni-

magnificence and elegance, rather than an account of architectural principles and circumstances.

The church of Tours, built by Perpetuus, bishop of that city, about the middle of the fifth century, was 160 feet in length, says Gregory of Tours, by 60 in breadth, and 45 in height, (*ad cemeram,*) to the springing of the arch in the roof. It had 52 windows, 120 pillars, and 8 doors⁹.

Examples of
churches

The church of Clermont in Auvergne, built by the bishop Naumatius in the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century, was 150 feet long; says the same author, by 60 feet broad, and 50 feet high. The place for the altar (*abside*) was circular, and from the nave, aisles projected so as to give the whole building the figure of the cross¹⁰. It had 42 windows, 70 pillars, and 8 doors. The altar-piece was curiously and richly adorned with variegated marble¹¹.

The church of Saint Paul, built by Constantine, was 404 palms (303 feet) by 300 palms, (225 feet,) exclusive of the transverse naves. It had 120 windows pretty large. The church of Saint John and Saint Paul, built later in the same century, and the length and breadth of which are not mentioned,

⁹ Lib. ii. c. 14.

¹⁰ Some authors think the age of a temple, or church, may be known from the projection of its aisles. This seems improbable, since we find them projecting much in the same form in Egypt in the earliest periods of history; as in Europe through every period of the Christian church.

Ciampini, *Vetera Monum.* c. 8. distinguishes the first age of Roman architecture during the Republic by large square stones; the age of reticulated work followed, brick-work succeeded till Charlemagne.

¹¹ Greg. Tur. lib. iii. c. 16.

For a more particular account of the sacred temples of the ancients, and especially of the churches of the first Christians, I must refer to the *Vetera Monumenta Joannis Ciampini Romani*. Edit. Romæ 1690.

had only 13 windows. But it deserves notice, because the measure of the windows is given; they were five palms, that is three feet nine inches wide, by twelve and a half palms, or nine feet four inches high; besides, over each of these windows there was a circular window of five palms, or three feet nine inches diameter.

The public churches were always built on a lighter and more elegant plan, than those intended for monasteries, or attached to them. The former were arched over two pillars, which divided the breadth of the window, and formed two subordinate arches, or sometimes four, and by alternate interfections produced those pointed appearances which might give rise afterwards to the sharp-pointed modern Gothic or Saracen arch. The latter of the same breadth were arched over three pillars, making three subordinate arches, and which must have considerably diminished the light²².

The church built by Charlemagne at Aix la Chapelle was octagonal. Pillars of variegated marble, placed in a circle, supported a spherical roof. The area betwixt the pillars and the wall formed a piazza, where, in suitable situations, were placed oratories or altars, for solemn religious worship. The pillars were of the Corinthian order, decently ornamented on the bases and capitals. It had but three gates or doors, one of which, called the great door, appeared majestic, and commodiously invited the entrance of the people. The arched roof was adorned richly with various sculpture, and Mosaic work. From the center of the roof hung a vast crown, not of gold, but of a metal resembling that colour²³.

²² Eginhart in vit. Car. Magn. Ciampin. cap. 9. ad finem.

²³ Id. c. 22.

The monk of Saint Gall calls this church "*Basilicam antiquis Romanorum operibus præstantiorem.*"

An ingenious and learned English writer traces the origin of what has been called the Gothic structure of churches as follows: "When the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate, and the religion of the old inhabitants, had ripened their wits, and inflamed their mistaken piety, both kept in exercise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens, through emulation of their service, and aversion to their superstition, they struck out a new species of architecture, unknown to Greece and Rome, upon original principles and ideas, much nobler than what had given birth even to classical magnificence. For this northern people having been accustomed, during the gloom of paganism, to worship the Deity in groves, a practice common to all nations, when their new religion required covered edifices, they ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves, as nearly as the difference of architecture would permit; at once indulging their old prejudices, and providing for their present conveniences by a cool receptacle in a sultry climate; and with what skill and success they executed the project by the assistance of Saracen architects, whose exotic style of building very luckily suited their purpose, appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well-grown trees intermixing their branches overhead, but it presently put him in mind of the long vista through the Gothic cathedral; or even entered one of the larger and more elegant edifices of this kind, but it presented to his imagination an avenue of trees; and this alone is what can be truly called the Gothic style of building." Hence, he goes on to argue, proceeded the pointed arches, the shafted columns, the spreading ramifications on

Supposed
origin of
Gothic ar-
chitecture.

every side from the top of the pillars, and the surprising lightness resembling a sylvan place of worship¹⁴.

Seems more
ingenious
than just.

The hypothesis is ingenious, and the comparison elegant, but seems contrary to fact. For if that mode of building derived its origin from sylvan temples, it must have been in times which preceded those of the Greeks and Romans, many of whose temples appear to have been built in that very manner. As soon, indeed, as men proposed to cover their spacious temples with substantial roofs, it became necessary to support them with numerous massive pillars, branching from the top in every direction so as to form one general arch. The plain, the fluted, and the shafted columns, might be variously suggested, as Vitruvius shews, lib. iii. c. 1. by the different tastes and genius of the architects, and by those accidental appearances and circumstances in nature or in works of art, which are the common causes of the most useful inventions. The Goths marred, but they certainly did not invent the style or plan of what is so generally called Gothic architecture.

Pagan
temples
converted
into
churches.

Some of the heathen temples, as the Pantheon at Rome, both magnificent and elegant, were converted into Christian churches. Many of them, through inordinate zeal, were destroyed, Saint Martin in France, and Saint Augustine in England, seemed to think the ruin of them necessary to the foundation and establishment of Christianity. Pope Gregory therefore advised the latter to remove only the idols, and to spare and consecrate the temples to the service of the true God¹⁵. Few or none probably were spared, however, in England; but many were preserved in Gaul, for their bea-

¹⁴ Bishop Warburton's notes on Pope's *Epistola*, octavo edit.

¹⁵ Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 30.

then

then temples were more numerous there, and naturally became the models, with a few alterations, of the churches which were afterwards erected.

France was accordingly the resort of the English for both instruction and artificers, when their zeal prompted them to build magnificent Christian, and especially cathedral churches. Thither Benedict Biscopius repaired, to collect and engage workmen to build the church of Saint Peter in Wermouth after the Roman manner; and when the building was nearly finished, he sent again to France for artificers in glass, to glaze the windows both of the nave and aisles. There was a time, says Bede¹⁶, speaking of England, when there was not a stone-church in all the land, but the custom was to build them all of wood. Finan, the second bishop of Lindasferne, or Holy Island; A. D. 652, built a cathedral church there of wood, and covered it with reeds. It remained in this state till Eadbert, who succeeded Saint Cuthbert, removed the reeds and covered it with sheets of lead.

English
take their
models and
workmen
from
France.

A. D. 675

The church of Saint Andrew in Hexham, built A. D. 674 by Saint Wilfrid, was planned after models, and executed by artificers, from Italy and France. The description given of it by the biographer of that bishop¹⁷, corresponds, in columns, sculpture, stairs, galleries, arches, and in almost every particular, with some of those cathedral churches now familiar to us; and at the same time, in many circumstances, such as the beautiful private oratories dedicated to the Virgin and other

¹⁶ Bedæ Hist. Abbat.

¹⁷ Eddic, vita Wilfridi, c. 22.

The tower was invented most probably when bells came to be used; and the steeple or spire, which was usual in the earliest times over the center, or on the east end, might be the suggestion of taste, to give eminence and lightness to the building.

saints, with the Pantheon at Rome, and with Charlemagne's magnificent church at Aix la Chapelle.

The walls of the cities of Gaul, Cæsar observes, are almost all constructed in the same manner, as follows:

Fortified
cities.

Large beams were laid across the space intended for the thickness of the wall, which might be twelve, twenty, or a hundred feet, at the distance of two feet from one another. Between the ends on each side were laid hewn stones, and the whole were bound strongly together by other beams of forty feet, laid on them lengthways. A course of hewn stones were then laid over that on each side, and so alternately, till the wall had reached its intended height. The space within the two sides, and betwixt the beams, was filled up with earth firmly beat down. By which means the wall could neither be burnt, on account of so much earth and stone, nor be much affected by battering rams and other warlike engines, as it was so fast bound by the beams, which extended both across and along it. Nor was it destitute of external symmetry and beauty, each course being regularly laid and divided into square parts of two feet, alternately of wood and stone¹⁸. Sidonius Apollinaris, who flourished about

¹⁸ " Muris autem omnibus Gallicis hæc fere forma est.
 " Trabes directæ perpetuæ in longitudinem, paribus intervallis,
 " distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur: hæc re-
 " vinebantur introrsus, et multo aggere vestiuntur: ea autem
 " quæ diximus intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur.
 " His collocatis, et coagmentatis, alius insuper ordo adjicitur,
 " ut idem illud intervallum fervetur; neque inter se contingant
 " trabes sed paribus intermissæ spatiis, singulæ singulis, saxis
 " interjectis, arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus con-
 " textitur, dum jussa muri altitudo expleatur. Hoc quum in
 " spectem varietatemque opus deforme non est, alternis tra-
 " bibus ac saxis quæ rectis lineis suos ordines servant, quod et
 " ab

about the time of Clovis, confirms this account of Cæsar, and shows that the same construction continued then. Speaking of his episcopal city, Autvergne, he says the face of the wall had been burnt, "*ambustam murorum faciem*"¹⁹.

We do not read of any bridges before the Romans entered Gaul, though it is likely the Grecian colony brought with them from Ionia sufficient skill to construct them, and might have built them in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. But wherever the Romans carried their great military roads, there, we know, were substantial and magnificent bridges. Bridges.

The great road from Italy by Nismes to Spain, passed creeks and rivers by fords and ferries in summer, and in winter was often impassable. Agrippa having settled a colony at Nismes, made a military road, and rendered these creeks and fords at all times safe and easy, by means of bridges of the most magnificent construction. They must have projected far beyond the ordinary banks, and yet allowed the overflow of the water to run freely off. Strabo mentions that particularly on the river Vidouze, between Lunel and Galargues²⁰. Part of it still remains, and is thus described by an attentive modern observer²¹: "This bridge consists of four equal arches, extending across the bed of the river, each thirty feet wide, and eighteen feet above the ordinary level of the river, supported by im-

"ab incendio lapidis, et ab asiete materia defendit; quæ per petuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta, neque petrumpi, neque distrahi potest." De Bello Gall. c. 22.

¹⁹ Sidon. Apoll. lib. vii. epist. 1.

²⁰ Lib. iv.

²¹ Pownall's Notices, &c. p. 118. This author gives a drawing of the ruins of the bridge, from which it appears like several of our most elegant modern bridges over great rivers.

"posts

“ posts twelve feet wide in front. The abutments
 “ of this bridge are carried back within the land,
 “ and there are two extra arches, one on each side,
 “ of the same dimensions, for the waste water of
 “ the floods: besides these, there are in the inter-
 “ vals between the arches five tunnels, three feet
 “ wide by nine high, which allow the floods, when
 “ rising above the imposts of the bridge, a course
 “ of fifteen feet passage, equal to what was lost by
 “ the contraction of the arches.” The monk of
 Saint Gall mentions, but does not describe, a bridge
 built over the Rhine at Mayence, to which all
 Europe contributed.”

Triumphal
 arch at
 Orange.

The following description of a Roman triumphal
 arch at Orange, will show the degree of elegance,
 as well as utility and magnificence, to which ar-
 chitecture had reached in Gaul about the Augus-
 tan age:

“ The edifice is of the usual form of trium-
 “ phal arches, and consists of one large central
 “ arch, with two lesser lateral ones, so as to admit
 “ of a triumphal procession in three lines of march;
 “ the principal line of show in the center, and
 “ two lines of guards in the flanks. The center
 “ is eighteen feet wide, the lateral ones twelve;
 “ the height of each about two diameters and a
 “ third: the length of the whole building about
 “ eighty-four feet, and the height about seventy
 “ feet. The arches spring from richly ornamented
 “ imposts, with pannels of foliage, exquisitely and
 “ highly finished; the architrave of the arch is
 “ also in the same manner enriched; and the
 “ vault of the arch is fretted with impannelled
 “ fleurs-de-lis.

“ The whole façade is inclosed within a colon-
 “ nade of four columns of the Corinthian order,

“ De Gest. Car. Magni, c. 32.

“ elegantly and delicately finished, with rich capitals and fluted shafts; the cornice also of the general entablature is very rich: the frize does not appear so well finished, as the other members of the entablature. There is a pediment over the center arch. The whole is surmounted with an attic, divided into three compartments.

“ The façades front to north and south, the ends to the east and west. In the spaces between the tops of the lateral arches and the general entablature on both façades, are impannelled compartments, exhibiting in *bas relief* trophæal amasses of arms, offensive and defensive; instruments of military music, and ensigns or standards; piled together in a seemingly negligent but studied form, in the manner in which the same used to be piled and carried on military cars and waggons in the triumphal processions. There are of course four of these compartments. The shields, helmets, and swords, are grouped together, the spears collected in the bundles, and the standards appear to rise slanting out of the mass. Some are surmounted with the boar, others with the dog: here are seen the *gesa* and *matura*, the short spear and long lance; and the long bucklers of the usual form, worn by the northern nations.

‘ *Gesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.*’

“ There are on the frize of the general entablature, in *bas relief*, a chain of awkward figures, in all the attitudes of combat; this appeared to me, both in design and execution, inferior to the other parts.

“ There are in the attic of both fronts, three compartments of *bas relief*; in the compartment of the south front, over the east lateral, is the
“ bust

" bust of a woman, in *alto relievo*, surrounded
 " with a veil, swelled out as it were with the wind,
 " in a circular form. Over the lateral, on the
 " west of the same front, are the sacred vessels and
 " instruments used in sacrifice, specifically the *pa-*
 " *tera*, *prefericulum*, and *simpulum*, the *lituus*, and
 " *aspergillum*. The compartment over the cen-
 " ter arch and pediment, is the representation
 " of a battle; but from the distance of the *bas*
 " *relief* from the eye, the smallness of the figures,
 " and the confusion of the group, I was not able
 " to mark any thing decisive in it; it appeared to
 " me to be of a different character of sculpture
 " from the lateral ones, and not so well done.
 " The compartment in the attic over the west
 " lateral arch of the north front, represents a line
 " of masted vessels tied, or, as the seamen express
 " it, lashed together. They appeared to me to
 " represent those kind of vessels which are haled
 " by their masts up the stream. The vessel at the
 " head of this line, and next the shore, was clearly
 " of that sort, having a double pulley, one of
 " two runners within one block, as used at this day,
 " at the head of the mast, and a haling rope run
 " through it, which appears loose, and loosely
 " coiled on the bank²³."

The amphi-
 theatre at
 Nîmes.

Among the many stupendous works of which
 the ruins yet remain in the south of France, which
 must be referred generally to the times of the
 Roman intercourse with Gaul, is the amphitheatre
 at Nîmes. It must have been capable of holding

²³ Notices and Descriptions of Antiquities of the Province
 Romana of Gaul, by Governor Pownall, 1788, p. 24.

This triumphal arch was probably erected in honour of Caius
 Marius and Lucius Catulus, after they had conquered the
 Teutones and the Cimbri. *Nouveau Voyage de France*, a Pa-
 ris, 1724.

seventeen thousand spectators, besides the room which was requisite for the spectacles which were exhibited. This edifice, built of immense blocks of square stone, is an oval, whose longest diameter is about four hundred feet, and the transverse one three hundred and twenty feet. It hath a circum-scribing façade of two arcade stories; the lower one supported by pilasters and a complete entablature, the upper one by columns and a like entablature; each arcade consisting of sixty arches, of which the four principal ones at the axis of the two diameters form on the base story the grand ports; the other fifty-six arches form each a portico, which runs in the line of the *radii* to the *arena*. Both above and below, a corridore, crossing these porticoes at right angles, runs quite round the building. On the base story, a second corridore, or circular gallery, concentric to the outward one, runs round the building, under the gradation of seats, near to the *podicum*. There is a fourth gallery, which being an *entresol*, and at or near equal distances between the two base galleries, and at equal distance of height between the upper and lower gallery, is a general landing-place to the several stairs, and a communication to the *aditus*, or *vomitoria*²⁴.

In the present state of this amphitheatre, it looks like a little walled town. The *arena* hath houses arranged on it in the form of streets, and the galleries are converted into dwellings for the poorest of the people. It was greatly injured, first by the Visigoths, and afterwards by Charles Martel²⁵.

²⁴ Pownall's Notices, p. 133.

²⁵ Nouveau Voyage de France, tom. ii. p. 359.

SECT. III.

Of the Arts continued.

THE first object of man's attention naturally is food; for this he hunts, he fishes, and he cultivates the ground. He will next be occupied with the means of protection and security, not only against the inclemency of the weather, but against the ferocity of beasts, and even the depredations of men: this will lead him to study the art of building in all its various forms, from the rudest to the most perfect state of architecture.

The art of
clothing.

Man requires clothing, as well as habitation, for his comfort and defence. The largest and strongest leaves of trees might first offer themselves to his use, but they could never be rendered either commodious or durable. The skins of animals were strong enough; but they must have been generally too hot in warm seasons and climates, uncomfortable when much exposed to rain, and generally, in their unmanufactured state, heavy and unwieldy. The separation of the hairy or woolly part from the skin, and the texture of it in some way into a garment, must have early occurred to the mind, and given rise to the arts of dressing the wool, of spinning, of weaving, of dyeing, of shaping the cloth, and suiting it commodiously to the human form.

State of the
woollen ma-
nufacture in
Gaul.

Wherever sheep have abounded, there we may generally affirm that the clothing arts have been cultivated; and they appear to have abounded both in Italy and Gaul. Virgil sings of them with the utmost familiarity, which must have arisen not from report, or from reading what was foreign or distant,

distant, but from common observation, and personal experience and skill*.

Pliny writes on the same subject, with all the erudition and personal observation for which he is so celebrated on the other articles in husbandry, and the arts then known. He treats of the natural history of sheep, of their food, of their diseases, and of the different species of wool which they bear in different regions of the earth; and in whatever aspect he considers them, as to their wool, or the manner of forming it into cloth, and afterwards dyeing or embroidering it, Gaul appears always to be most eminent for these arts*.

Directing our attention to the Franks, we find that sheep must have been very common and numerous among them. Their laws describe different kinds of them; mark their comparative value; and signify, that sometimes to the number of fifty wethers have been stolen from the rest of the flock.

From the rules of the several monastic institutions, it appears, that a principal part of the work performed in them, especially in female monasteries, was to manufacture their own clothes; and by the sale of the superfluous part of their labour, to contribute to the support and maintenance of the

- * " Si tibi lanicium curæ; primum aspera sylva,
- " Lappæque tribulique absint: fuge pabula læta:
- " Continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos.
- " Illum autem, quamvis aries sit candidus ipse,
- " Nigra subest udo tantum cui lingua palato,
- " Rejice, ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis
- " Nascentum; plenoque alium circumspice campo.
- " Munere sic niveo lanæ, si credere dignum est,
- " Pan Deus Arcadiæ captam te, Luna, fefellit," &c.

Virg. Geor. lib. iii. 384.

* Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 47, 48.

society. It is certain that the clothes which they wore, were woollen³.

Woollen being the ordinary stuff, was worn not only by the common people, but by persons of the first rank; and we learn that it formed a principal part of the dress of Charlemagne⁴. As it furnished also the materials of their blankets or bed-coverings, the manufacture of wool must have become general, and the art familiar to the people of France.

In the eighty-first capitulary of the first book of Charlemagne, the manufacture of cloth and woollen goods forms a chief article among the works which are prohibited to be done on sabbath. "The women shall not weave cloth, nor shape clothes, nor sew them, nor perform any needle-work, nor teaze wool, nor beat lint, nor wash clothes publicly, nor shear sheep."

Pliny mentions a kind of felt or woollen stuff, manufactured without spinning or weaving, but probably in the manner in which hats are now made. They added an acid to it, which rendered it so hard as to resist the stroke of a sword. It was also considered as incombustible, and was consequently employed as a defence against fire⁵.

Woollen cloth was most commonly worn in Gaul, but linen cloth was by no means unknown: all the Roman writers on husbandry treat of lint, but generally discourage the raising crops of it, as severe and pernicious to the soil: it was used chiefly for sails and cordage to ships. It makes Egypt,

³ "Illa dimidia pars cleri, qui seniores fuerint, annis singulis accipient cappas novas, et vestes laneas novas, et veteres, quas preterito acceperunt," &c. Chrodog. Met. Episc. Regul. Canon. cap. 41. apud Veter. Anal. D'Achery.

⁴ Eginhart in Vit. Caroli Magni.

⁵ Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 48.

says Pliny, approach nearer to Italy; it carries the globe itself to and fro⁶. But, he adds, all the nations of Gaul weave it into webs, and even the people beyond the Rhine; nor do their women know any garments more beautiful than those made of lint⁷. He describes the mode of raising and dressing it; and shews that they were accustomed not only to spin it, but twine it into 150, and even into 365 ply⁸.

It was principally worn by the priests in Gaul over their other clothes, and by people of rank for shirts. It is mentioned by Chrodegang⁹ as a canon of the church, that every senior clergyman should receive three *campfiles*, white linen gowns, or surplices, yearly. Eginhart and the monk of Saint Gall¹⁰ describe different parts of Charlemagne's dress as consisting of linen: from the capitularies it appears, that the altars of churches were covered with it¹¹; and there is no doubt that linen and woollen were sometimes woven into what is called linsley-woolsey stuffs¹².

From the frequent mention of the whiteness of the linen, then used both for sails and clothes, as well as from the manner of bleaching, specified by Pliny, it is not improbable that the art of bleaching was then known, though it must have been in a rude state.

There are such frequent references made by the Roman writers, to the excellence of the Gauls in the various arts which then were known, that we

Art of dye-
ing.

⁶ Hist. Nat. lib. xix. introd.

⁷ Ibid. c. 1.

⁸ Id. ibid.

⁹ C. 41. Regul. Canon. D'Achery.

¹⁰ De Reb. Caroli Magni, lib. ii. c. 29.

¹¹ Capitul. lib. i. c. 152.

¹² "Et ut feminæ nostræ—habeant ex partibus nostris lanam et linum, et faciant sarcillos et camisilos, &c." Capitul. ii. ad ann. 813. cap. 19.

seem justified in the general conclusion, that the south of France at least may be considered, in that respect, as on a level with Italy. The equality of the two countries, in agriculture, architecture, clothing, and bleaching, has been already shewn; and we may now observe the same equality in the art of dyeing.

"There is now," says Pliny, "a wonderful progress in the art of dyeing; for, not to mention the Imperial purple of Galatia, Africa, and Lusitania, the Transalpine Gauls have discovered the art of dyeing purple, scarlet, and all other colours, by means of herbs¹³." In another passage, he represents the artificial colours of cloth, which luxury had invented or encouraged, as vying in richness and variety with the natural colours of flowers. Though they may all be reduced to three colours, yet the shades which branch out from these are innumerable. The yellow, he says, was, from the remotest times, peculiar to the female nuptial dress; and he seems to think, that the artificial yellow was surpassed only by the brighter and more durable colour of the *amaranthus*, the everlasting flower of love¹⁴. He mentions many of the herbs as well as minerals employed in dyeing; describes some of the processes; and, on the whole, supports with sufficient evidence our general position, that the art of dyeing was not only common, but eminent, in Italy and Gaul¹⁵. Subordinate to these were various other arts, as that of working in wood, in iron and precious metals, and in glass.

Of artists
in wood and
iron.

That the two first of these arts had attained a considerable degree of perfection in Gaul, is mani-

¹³ Hist. Nat. lib. xxii. c. 2.

¹⁴ Id. lib. xxi. c. 8.

¹⁵ Lib. xxxv. c. 11. 15.

fest from the account already given of agriculture, architecture, and clothing. There must have been both carpenters and smiths, to make carts and ploughs, and other tools of husbandry; to forge and repair chissels, and other working tools; to perform all the joiner part of the work in building and finishing houses and churches; to make the looms and shuttles of weavers, and all the other articles, too tedious to mention, in the process of the woollen and linen manufacture.

These artists are so frequently mentioned by the writers of those times, and their arts so frequently alluded to, that it seems unnecessary to quote particular authorities. Among the Franks they certainly held a rank superior to the villains and ordinary slaves, and are classed in the Salic law with the first officers of the household¹⁶.

These arts, however, seem to have been on the decline in the reign of Charlemagne; for the capitulary *de Villis*¹⁷ requires the judge of every district to take care that artists of every kind be encouraged to reside and carry on their trades within his bounds; and among these are particularly mentioned, iron, gold, and silver-smiths; carpenters, shoemakers, turners, armourers, soap-makers, bakers; brewers of ale, cyder, and perry, &c.

The eminence of Eloy has already been repeatedly noticed, who from being a silver-smith became a bishop, and a particular favourite in the court of Dagobert. His various works of solid gold, and his jewellery, chairs, throne, and golden

In precious
metals.

¹⁶ " Si quis majorem, infestorem, scantionem, mariscal-
cum, stratorem, fabrum ferrarium, aurificem, five carpen-
tarium, vinitorem, vel porcarium, vel ministerialem furave-
rit, aut occiderit, vel vendiderit valentem sol. 25, &c." Tit. xi. 6.

¹⁷ Sect. 45. Vid. not. Geo. Eccard. ad Leg. Sal. p. 31.

belts, evidently shew that the precious metals abounded in those times, and that artists discovered considerable skill in working them. Among other presents sent by Chilperic to Tiberius Constantine, emperor of Constantinople, was a bason of gold, enriched and adorned with precious stones, weighing altogether fifty pounds¹⁸. Of that rich booty which the French army seized in Languedoc, on defeating and killing Amalric king of the Visigoths, Childebert reserved for himself sixty chalices and fifteen patens, or covers of pure gold; twenty capsals, or copies of the Gospels, enclosed in plates of gold, and adorned with precious stones; which he sent in presents to different churches over the kingdom¹⁹.

Bells.

There were artists at this time capable even of casting large bells. Till about the seventh or eighth century, *tintinabula*, or smaller bells, were used for assembling either heathens or Christians. There are various opinions respecting the period when, and the country in which, the *campana*, or large church or tower bells, were first used. I have not been able to discover any thing certain on the subject before the age of Charlemagne. Pope Stephen III. is said to have built a tower on Saint Peter's church at Rome, which he ornamented with gold and silver, and in which he placed three large bells, for the purpose of convening the clergy and people to worship²⁰.

Charlemagne

¹⁸ Greg. Tur. lib. vi. c. 2.

¹⁹ Id. lib. iii. c. 10.

²⁰ "Idem beatissimus papa fecit super Basilicam B. Petri Apost. turrem quam ex parte inauravit et ex parte argento vestivit, in qua tres posuit campanas, quæ clerum et populum ad officium Dei convocarent." Anast. Bib. in Steph. III. Ducange (ad voc. Campanarum Pullatio,) refers to the 6th lib. c. 11. of Gregory of Tours, for some notice respecting bells; and other authors speak of them having given an alarm

Charlemagne was desirous to have a magnificent bell cast for the church which he had built at Aix-la-Chapelle. The artist Tancho, who had cast one very much admired for the church of Saint Gall, was employed by the emperor, and furnished at his own request with a great quantity of copper, and a hundred pounds weight of silver, for that purpose. Tancho being of a covetous disposition, kept the silver for his own use, and substituted in its room a sufficient quantity of highly purified tin, with which he furnished a most admirable bell, and presented it to the emperor²¹.

Pliny, who writes with so much ability and learning on every subject of natural history and human art known in his time, gives a brief account also of the history and manufacture of glass. He says that it was first accidentally discovered by burning together the ashes of sea-weeds, *nitrum*, and sand, on the shore, at the mouth of the river Betus in Syria, where some mariners had kindled a fire to dress their victuals during a storm²². From the hint, several other experiments were tried in different countries with various success; from which many different species, forms, and colours of glass were produced. He particularly mentions the success with which this art was prosecuted in Gaul; and briefly notices the various uses to which it was applied, particularly for reflecting images, and for

alarm on the approach of an army in the time of Clotaire: but though I have searched for both these in the original authors, I have not been so fortunate as to discover them.

²¹ The Historian adds, however, that on its being suspended in the tower, the people were unable to ring it: Tancho himself being called, pulled so hard that the iron tongue fell on him, and killed him. c. Sangall. de Gestis Car. Magni, lib. i. c. 31.

²² He afterwards admits that the art must have had an earlier origin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

imitating precious stones of myrrh, hyacinth, sapphire, and all other colours: "nor," adds he, "is there any matter more capable of being worked into every kind of form or appearance." He speaks of its effects in a spherical form, to collect the rays of the sun, so as to set combustible substances on fire; and he adds, that the use of it in vessels for the table, and especially for drinking, had almost banished golden and silver vessels²³.

A modern author, after describing the Tower-magne at Nîmes, goes on to notice other antiques, which are very numerous in and about that ancient and famous city: "One," says he, "cannot suppose but that a place of such importance, ornamented with such noble and magnificent edifices, so populous, and honoured with the residence and birth of inhabitants of such high rank and character in the empire, must have enjoyed all the means and instruments of elegant and luxurious dwelling and living. There must have been in this place furniture, and every utensil, sacred, civil, and domestic, of the most precious materials and most exquisite workmanship, which the art and taste of the age, added to riches, could furnish. Of those whose materials were of the precious metals, none are now found: of such as were of the ordinary metal, a kind of copper, and of glass, numbers have been discovered, and many of them preserved. There is at the academy at Nîmes a small, but curious collection of these things, consisting of several *very perfect glass urns, and vases of the common greenish glass*; but one a most uncommon one, peculiarly ele-

²³ Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

“ gant in its form, and finely wrought in its sundry
“ ornaments²⁴.”

On the subject of architecture we have already had occasion to observe, that the English sent to France for masons who were skilful in building after the Roman or Grecian manner: we have now to add, that in the year 675, artificers in glass were also brought over from France to England by Benedict, in order to glaze the windows of the church and monastery of Wermouth; and by Wilfrid about the same time, to glaze the windows of the church of Hexham²⁵.

The art of manufacturing glass continued to be cultivated in the time of Charlemagne; and one artist is particularly mentioned as excelling all others in that art, who was most probably employed by the emperor in glazing his magnificent church of Aix²⁶.

The attention and wonder excited in France by the horloge, or clock, sent to Charlemagne by Aaron king of Persia, shows that that kind of mechanism was then unknown among the French; but it was likely to be the means of introducing into that country the art. It was moved by a spring: the wheels, &c. were of brass: balls falling through certain apertures on a bell, struck the hour; and besides, at every hour, an additional door opened, and a horseman appeared as guarding it, till all the twelve doors were open, after which they all shut, and then opened again in succession. Clocks.

²⁴ Notices and Descriptions of Antiquities of the Provincia Romana of Gaul, &c. by Governor Pownall, F.R.S. and F.S.A. London, 1788.

²⁵ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 2. Eddii Vit. Wilfridi, c. 14.

²⁶ Sangall. de Gestis Car. Magni, lib. i. c. 31.

Writing.

Writing, though among the last mentioned, is not the least of the necessary arts. The ancients in remote times wrote on stone, wood, brass, &c. and then their pen, or style, was proportionally suited to these hard substances: when the leaves of trees, tablets of wax, or bark, was the receptacle, the pen was accommodated to it. The *papyrus* of Egypt, parchment, and vellum, required a reed, a pencil, or a quill. The latter probably began to be used so early as the seventh century; but the others not till the reign of Lewis the Meek, in the ninth century²⁷.

The various kinds of ink were known to the Romans; and their composition and colours are described by Pliny. They made it of the dregs of wine and the foot of torches; of burnt ivory, of burnt bones, of pulverised charcoal, with vinegar, gums, &c.²⁸

The different kinds of papyrus which were in use among the Romans, and other ancient nations, are described by Pliny²⁹. The strongest, whitest, and best polished, was most valued. "On this papyrus, duly fixed and polished," says he, "I have seen, in the library of Pomponius, an illustrious poet, the hand-writing of the Gracchi, who flourished two hundred years ago." There is said to be a manuscript on papyrus, still in high preservation, 1100 years old, in the abbey of Saint German de Pres.

When Cæsar came first into Gaul, in the interior at least of the country, among the Helvetii, they wrote on tablets³⁰; but the people who were set-

²⁷ Ducange, ad voc. Penna.

²⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 6.

²⁹ Id. lib. xiii. c. 12.

³⁰ De Bell. Gall. lib. i. He does not say whether they were wood or stone.

tled about the mouths of the Rhone must undoubtedly, at an earlier period than this, have been acquainted with the papyrus.

From the Romans, the use of parchment and vellum passed into the church; and along with it, their manner of adorning their writing with gold and silver, and various colours and figures. This kind of writing occupied much the attention of the monks in the dark ages: the nuns in some of the Belgic monasteries are said, particularly, to have written the Evangelists and Psalter most elegantly in the eighth century³¹.

The art of medicine was in a very imperfect state among the ancient Gauls, and in the hands of the Druids. Every disease being considered as immediately inflicted by the gods, it became natural to apply to the priesthood, not so much for an artificial remedy, as by means of their intercession to avert the Divine wrath. The Druids respected and encouraged this superstition, partly from their own ignorance, and partly because it rendered the people more submissive and dependent. They accompanied every step in medicinal practice with some religious acts; they even gathered the herbs which they were to administer, with peculiar ceremonies of religion. Such superstition and charms gratified their patients, inspired them with confidence in the skill of their physicians, and threw a mysterious veil over the simplest prescriptions of the art. At the same time the great practice of the Druids, and the superior discernment and liberality of some of them, contributed to the improvement of medicine. They acquired a general knowledge of the structure of

Art of medicine.

³¹ Hist. Littéraire de la France, tom. i. p. 21—24. and tom. iv. p. 5.

sonius, in the same century, the intimate friend of the human frame; they discovered the medicinal virtues of several plants; and became expert, and sometimes successful, in setting bones, and dressing wounds and ulcers³².

Medicine was nearly in a similar state among the Greeks before Hippocrates, who first succeeded in reducing the art to method, and to principles as a science; and wonderfully enriched it with his own personal observation and experience. He flourished about 400 years before Christ; and, till the Christian æra, when Celsus and Galen appeared with so much celebrity, the art of medicine was in the hands chiefly of empirics and methodists, and had made little progress: nor did these two writers advance the art so much by their own observation and new facts, as by the industrious collection and arrangement of those of their predecessors.

Pliny mentions Crinas and Charmis, both from Marseilles, who became eminent in the practice of medicine. The former seems to have united the Druidical with the Grecian practice. In all his prescriptions and operations, he shewed a religious respect to the motion and state of the heavenly bodies. The latter, condemning all former practice and hot baths, plunged his patient even in the depth of winter into the coldest lakes and pools.

The rashness of many practitioners, the want of decision in others, and the perpetual change of opinion among them all in succession, rendered the art generally suspicious, and almost infamous at Rome. Of all the Grecian arts which the Ro-

³² Le Clerc's Hist. b. ii. c. 5. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxix. c. 1.

mans were so ambitious to cultivate, the art of medicine is the only one which they seem almost to have neglected³³.

Charmis and Crinas, who have been already mentioned as two eminent Gallic practitioners in medicine, left no writings behind them. But Demosthenes, who was also of Marseilles, and whom Galen by way of eminence calls the Marseillian, wrote three books in Greek, on the diseases of the eyes and their remedies, about the middle of the first century. Some fragments only of his work remain; but Galen says that it was in high estimation. He also speaks of a distinction which the Marseillian introduced respecting the pulse, not altogether new, but to which he gave much importance; of a plaster which he used and recommended for wounds received by missile weapons; and of a specific remedy against carbuncles³⁴.

Abascantius, in the second century, was an eminent practitioner and writer in medicine at Lyons. Galen, who knew him personally, as well as by his writings, speaks of him most respectfully, and mentions particularly his remedy against poisons³⁵.

Oribasius practised medicine with much success and fame at Paris in the fourth century, and wrote an abridgment of the works of Galen³⁶. And Au-

³³ Pliny is very severe on this subject. "Itaque hercule in hac artium sola evenit, ut cuicunque medicum se professio statim credatur, cum sit periculum in nullo mendacio majus. Non tamen illud intuemur: adeo blande est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. Nulla præterea lex, quæ puniat inficitiam capitalem, nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris, et experimenta per mortes agunt: medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunita summa est," &c. Nat. Hist. lib. xxix. c. 1.

³⁴ Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. i. p. 38. 268.

³⁵ Galen, de Antidotis, lib. ii. c. 12.

³⁶ Hist. Lit. tom. i. part 2. p. 7.

the poet of the same name, was celebrated as a successful physician at Bourdeaux. Marcellus the empiric, also of Bourdeaux, who made much use of the writings of Ausonius, mentions with distinction a remedy of his for the sciatic, or hip-gout.

The revolution which the inundation of the barbarous nations produced on literature in general, must have also affected medicine. Of this there is no room to doubt, whether we attend to the laws of the Visigoths, or to facts which are recorded of subsequent times.

No physician, it is decreed by the Gothic Laws, shall presume to let blood of a free woman, in the absence of her friends or honest neighbours.

He shall not enter a prison without a proper attendant, lest by administering deadly medicine, he prevent the due exercise of the law against the guilty.

In other cases the law provides, that if he be successful, he shall be rewarded; if unsuccessful, he shall not be altogether blamed, but shall not receive a fee to any great amount; and if the patient die, he shall be taken into custody, to be disposed of as the friends of the deceased shall determine²⁷.

Austragild, queen of Burgundy, on her death-bed thus addressed her royal husband, Gontran: "I might have continued to live, if I had not fallen into the hands of these physicians; for they have given me draughts which have proved mortal: wherefore swear to me, that as soon as I am dead you will also put them to death, that they may have no reason to boast of their deadly skill over me." She died of a dysentery, which then prevailed mortally in the country. Gontran was extremely sorry for the oath which he had unjustly

²⁷ Leg. Visigoth. lib. xi. tit. 1.

taken; but he as cruelly thought it necessary to fulfil it, and so put to death both the physicians who had attended her³².

With such laws and prejudices against physicians, it was not to be expected that medicine could flourish in the progress of the still darker ages. The superstition of the times too placed far more confidence in visiting the relics and tombs of saints, to which persons labouring under every kind of disease were carried, than in the skill of physicians, or virtues of medicine.

Accordingly, in the seventh and eighth centuries, there appears no vestige or notice of medicine in France. Charlemagne himself disliked the art; nor while he so zealously provided for the revival of learning, did he shew any encouragement to medicine, till towards the end of his life, when under growing infirmities, he felt the want of that relief or comfort which it is calculated to afford. Then he ordained by a capitulary, that medicine should become early a part of the education of youth³³. From which vague mode of expression, it is uncertain whether he meant that youth should be trained professionally to that art, or whether it was to be no distinct profession, but a branch of education intended for all who were disposed to learning.

³² "Gladio feriri præcepit; quod non sine peccato factum fuisse multorum censet prudentia." Greg. Tur. lib. v. c. 35.

³³ "De medicinali arte ut infantes hanc discere mittantur." Lib. vi. Capitul. 225.

SECT. IV.

Of the Fine Arts.

FROM the arts necessary to life, we proceed to consider those fine arts which in every age have contributed to gratify as well as improve the imagination and taste, and the degree of excellence in which marks the progress of civilization in society. They may be generally included in sculpture, painting, poetry, and music.

Art of
sculpture.

The art of sculpture may be traced to an early origin in the hieroglyphics of wood and stone, which so frequently occur in oriental history, and especially in the history of Egypt. The Greeks, who surpassed the other ancient nations in every kind of mental culture and ornamental art, attained the highest excellence in sculpture. It passed from them to the Romans, and by the Ionian colony to Marseilles in Gaul.

Among the Romans, Pliny mentions the dog licking a wound in his body in the chapel of Juno, as an example of such exquisitely delicate and ingenious sculpture as to surpass all price or value. Of the bolder kinds of sculpture, he gives as examples the Apollo in the Capitol, of thirty cubits, and valued at one hundred and fifty talents; the Jupiter in the Campus Martius, &c. After several other examples, he adds, But in this large kind of statues, by far superior to them all is a Mercury, finished in ten years by Zenodorus, in the city of Auvergne in Gaul, and valued at four hundred thousand sesterii. His fame having reached Nero, he

¹ H—S CCCC = L. 32289 13 4 Sterling, reckoning the sesterius = L. 0 0 1³/₄.

was invited to Rome, where he formed a Colossal statue of that emperor, one hundred and ten² feet in length, which on Nero's death was dedicated to the Sun. The Romans used to frequent this artist's shop to see and admire his workmanship; and Pliny himself saw him forming figures of clay, and others of osiers, of the most elegant and delicate workmanship. He made two carved bowls also of inestimable value³.

The respectable author to whom I have repeatedly referred in the article on architecture, gives the following description of a statue dug out of the earth in making the track of a new road near the walls of the city of Arles. It most probably belonged to an age preceding the origin of the French monarchy; but there seems no period to which it can be referred subsequent to the reign of Charlemagne. "The matter," says he, "is stone. The design is good, though rather too strongly marked. All the parts are accurately and well-finished, and the drapery just, except that it seemed to me too quiet to accompany the agitation in which the figure is represented. The figure is in height three feet ten inches, English measure. The representation is that of a matron having her hand upon a dagger, in the act or intention of unsheathing it. There are two infants at her feet, playing, or seeming to hide themselves in the folds of her garment. The Pere Dumont, whose judgment I follow, very ingeniously conceived this to be a statue of Medea, representing her in the act of resolving to destroy her children, upon being abandoned by

² Pliny, lib. xxxiv. c. 7. calls it 110 feet; but Suetonius, lib. vi. n. 31. calls it 120 feet.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 7.

" Jason;

“ Jason; or it may be the portrait of some favourite actress, and not an ideal model of Medea.”

The same writer observes, that in the collection of architectural antiques which he saw at Vienne, he was able to distinguish the character of three different ages in the arts of architecture and sculpture; that of the Augustan age, when the utmost attention was paid to regularity, proportion, and purity of style; that of a second age, which he does not define, but which probably extended towards the reign of Constantine, when the works, of which some examples remain, were finished with an elegance and delicacy the most perfect and astonishing; and that of a third age, which might extend to the Carolingian race, of which the exemplars show a depravity of manners and a falseness of taste, irregular extravagancies, and a fantastic *romanesque*, rather than Roman sculpture or architecture⁴.

This division of the ages of architecture and sculpture, corresponds with what might be expected from the circumstances of the times, and with such facts as have come to our knowledge. Though the Franks, the Goths, and Burgundians, had before their eyes the most beautiful patterns of sculpture, yet they wanted both taste and skill to imitate them; and above all, that versatility of genius, which accommodates readily to imitate in another, whatever appears more excellent than any plan or device of our own⁵. Charlemagne's church at Aix-la-Chapelle, was

⁴ Governor Pownall's Notices, &c. p. 114, 115.

⁵ Id. p. 152.

⁶ What elegance of taste, or strength of genius, was to be expected in an age in which an eminent bishop could gravely write as follows: “*Mariz Virginis Basilica ab imperatore Constantino admirabili opere fabrica renidet (viz. in Gallia); ad quam adductæ columnæ, cum præ magnitudine levari non possent,*

was magnificent, and richly adorned with marble and gold. There is no particular account of its sculpture, farther than that it was decently ornamented with pillars, bases, and capitals, of the Corinthian order.

Musive or Mosaic work, which is an architectural ornament of great antiquity, and prevailed among all civilised nations, consisting in the indentation of small pieces of wood, stone, or marble, of various forms and colours, according to the nature of the figure intended, appears to have been more suited than sculpture to the genius and taste of the Merovingian and Carlovingian age, and formed a considerable part of the ornaments of the church of Aix-la-Chapelle. The roof was spherical, representing the heavens, of a gold colour, studded with stars of red. In the middle of it, the figure of Jesus Christ is placed on a throne, representing the description of him by the prophet in the fourth chapter of the book of the Apocalypse. On the whole, we have reason to think that this church was sumptuous and magnificent, rather than delicately elegant in its sculpture.

As the best works of sculpture were either heathen idols, or supposed to have relation to them, they were generally sacrificed by the first Christians, in their zeal to promote Christianity. In breaking idols, and in disfiguring their temples, they thought

“ possent, eo quod esset circuitus earum sedecim pedum, ac
 “ diebus singulis casto labore fatigarentur, apparuit artifice
 “ Sancta Virgo per visum dicens: Noli mœstus esse, ego enim
 “ tibi ostendam qualiter hæc queant elevari columnæ,” &c. In
 a word, when the pillars of the church were so large that the
 workmen were unable to move them, the Virgin appeared from
 heaven, and directed them, so that by certain machinery of her
 suggestion they proved successful. Greg. Tur. de Gloria
 Martyrum.

they were subduing and extirpating idolatry ; and as external objects have so much influence on the imagination and affections, it is probable that they did succeed the sooner in banishing heathen doctrines and principles, by breaking the idols, and generally defacing the sculpture, to which pagan ideas were attached. Yet some regret springs up in the mind, on reflecting that so few of the best monuments of human genius and taste have been spared, to excite the emulation, and improve the talents, of future generations.

Art of
painting.

We find still more room for regret, when we turn our attention to the art of painting ; one of the most elegant entertainments which the senses and imagination can furnish to the mind. It was early known and practised by the Egyptians, and other eastern nations ; the Greeks excelled in it, as they did in all the necessary and fine arts. Four hundred years before Christ, Zeuxis painted grapes so like to real ones, that the birds were deceived by them ; but he acknowledged that his rival Parrhasius had surpassed him, by executing a curtain which had deceived himself⁷.

Pliny, almost the first and last author who treats of the art till modern times, writes with all the enthusiasm and discernment of a master on the subject. He characterises with precision the artists and their works both in Greece and Rome, and regrets with strong feeling that an art so noble and elegant, so honourable and useful as painting, should be allowed, as it then seemed, to decline so rapidly. It had made little progress during the republic ; it had

⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 9, 10. " Zeuxis alitum
" judicio tumens, flagitaret tandem remoto linteo ostendi pic-
" turam, atque intellectu errore concederet palmam ingenuo
" pudore, quoniam ipse volucres fefellisset, Parrhasius autem
" se artificem."

flourished

flourished under the emperors, and under Nero had acquired that respectability which recommended it as one of the most honourable professions⁸.

From Pliny's account of the pigments and colours of the ancients, the difference between them and those of the moderns is less than at first we might be ready to suppose. Their white colours were derived from white lead, from calcined egg-shells, from chalk, and white earths or clays; their blacks were formed of lampblack, ebony black, &c.; their red, of vermilion, burnt earths, red lead, and cinnabar, &c.; their yellow, of orpiments similar to those still used; their blue was indigo, the *lapides Syanus et Armenus*, mountain blue, and the precipitate from dyers' vats; their green was *verdegriſe*, *terra vert*, and mountain green. They were acquainted with varnishes, but were not probably acquainted with painting in oil, as they mixed their colours with a durable size⁹.

The substances on which they painted, were generally the ceilings and compartments of their buildings; and hence they were not only much exposed to injurious accidents, but must have always perished with the repairs or ruins of the edifices: aware of this, the more eminent artists painted on marble, wood, and canvas¹⁰. Four of those found in the ancient Herculaneum, are on white marble¹¹. Nero's colossal portrait, of one hundred and twenty feet, was done on canvas¹².

Gaul seems not to have been equally conspicuous in the art of painting in Pliny's eye, as in the

⁸ Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. Proem. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11.

⁹ Id. ibid. c. 5, 6.

¹⁰ Canvas was never used till the time of Nero. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 7.

¹¹ Winkelman, de l'Art de l'Antiquité, tom. ii. liv. iv. c. 8. p. 326.

¹² Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 7.

other arts, for on this article he does not treat : we may therefore conclude that it produced nothing remarkable, because we know certainly that both painters and their works must have been numerous in that country : it could not be otherwise when the intercourse was so general betwixt Gaul and Italy, and when some of the emperors, as Constantine particularly, resided much in Gaul, and gave every encouragement to all the arts, especially in his favourite city, Autun.

The very controversy concerning image-worship, which so occupied and distracted the church during the eighth and ninth centuries, shews that the art must have been prevalent, however well or ill practised, in adorning churches and altar-pieces. The common phrases in that controversy, of breaking and removing images and paintings, intimate that the practice of working on canvas, or moveable substances, was general in Christendom¹³.

The art of
poetry.

The art of poetry, we know, prevailed among the Druids : it was the vehicle of their ancient transactions ; it recorded the military prowess of their warriors and heroes, and the general annals of their history. We may judge of the number and length of their poems, from the time, twenty years, which Cæsar says they spent in committing them to memory¹⁴. A particular class of men were set apart for composing them, reciting them at feasts, and addressing them oratorically to the soldiers in the field of battle ; in order, by the memory of former courage and conquests, to inspire them anew with ardent ambition and military enthusiasm.

¹³ Dupin, *Ecclef. Hist.* vol. v. cent. 6, p. 87. and vol. vii. cent. 8, 9. p. 1. 135. 154.

¹⁴ *Lib. vi. de Bell. Gall.*

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
 Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
 Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi. Lucan.

We have had an opportunity already of observing, under the article of literature, the progress of poetry among the Gauls in their more civilized state, during the time of their intercourse with the Romans, and especially after they were conquered by the Franks. In the short memoirs of the learned of those times, we gave some specimens of their poetry, to which we now refer¹⁵; and shall only observe, that it was the common ambition of every pretender to learning and composition, to write verses. Not only Sidonius and Fortunatus, professed poets, but Alcuin the philosopher, and Charlemagne the emperor, thought it necessary to prove their genius, by composing poems. The plan of a liberal education in those times always included poetry, as an essential branch of it; and hence all who were duly educated attempted it, whether they were inspired or not, with a poetic spirit. It is no wonder that their verses are destitute generally of fire, strength, and beauty; but they are not generally even well-measured by the common laws of prosody.

The victory of Clotaire II. over the Saxons, was celebrated in Latin verse or rhyme, which was generally sung over the kingdom. Charlemagne also collected a great number of Gallican poems, chiefly military songs, as records of the great achievements and events of former times.

Music appears so natural to man, that it is vain to trace the art to any particular nation or individual. The first musical attempts were rude and artless; and the first musical instruments, most

The art of
 music.

¹⁵ Ch. iv. sect. 2.

probably, were a whistling reed, or the dried sinews of a dead tortoise¹⁶. The art was early cultivated in Egypt; it flourished in Judea in the age of David and Solomon; it attained also a high degree of perfection in Greece, whence, like the other arts, it passed into Rome.

The ancient Germans celebrated in verses the praises of their gods, Teuton or Twisto, and Mannus; and the Druids in Gaul, who recorded every thing in verse, were not likely to neglect the art of music. The bards were accustomed to sing their poems to the sweet sounds of the lyre. There is no appearance, however, of much progress having been made in music, till the intercourse with the Romans began; and then it must have spread fast, with all its improvements, over the whole country.

The introduction of music into the service of religion was extremely natural. Some of the ancient philosophers, as Plato, were of opinion, that it ought to be employed in religion only. It formed, in every country, an important part in the worship of the gods. The popular worship of the heathens consisted principally in songs and choruses, accompanied by musical instruments, and

¹⁶ "Et Zephyris cava per calamorum sibila primum
"Agresticis docuere cavas inflare cicutas."

Lucret. lib. v.

"The Nile," says Dr. Burney, quoting Apollodorus, "after having overflowed the whole country of Egypt, when it returned within its natural bounds, left a tortoise, the flesh of which being dried and wasted by the sun, nothing was left within the shell but nerves and cartilages; and these being braced and contracted by desiccation, were rendered sonorous. It suggested to Mercury the first idea of a lyre, which he afterwards constructed in the form of a tortoise, and strung it with the dried sinews of dead animals." Burney's General Hist. of Music.

frequently

frequently by dancing. The Jewish worship was performed with more solemnity ; but it was also attended with choruses, and with all kinds of musical instruments.

In the Christian church, music was at first simple and vocal ; and the Apostles, in their exhortations to that exercise, urge it only in its most simple form.

The first Christians spent much of their time together in singing or chanting sacred hymns¹⁷. The attention of the people generally to church music, however, declined : it seemed necessary, about the beginning of the fourth century, to institute a particular class or order of persons, who were trained regularly for this service. The council of Laodicea, A. D. 319, forbade all others to sing, but those who were appointed and duly instructed ; and Eusebius mentions a place set apart in the church for the canonical singers, youths, virgins, &c.¹⁸

Saint Ambrose is said¹⁹ to have brought from the east that mode of singing and chanting in divine service, which, about A. D. 375, he established at Milan, and which was afterwards called the Ambrosian Chant : and Saint Ignatius is understood to have first introduced the manner of singing alternately, or in the form of dialogue²⁰.

Church-music continued in this form for about two hundred years : the state of any other kind of music during that period, and indeed for a great while before, is unknown. About A. D. 600,

¹⁷ Plin. Ep. lib. x. ep. 97.

¹⁸ Lib. ii. c. 3. Bingham's Antiquities, vol. ii. ch. 7. p. 38, 39.

¹⁹ August. Confess. lib. ix. c. 7. The Ambrosian Chant is also called *Laus perennis* : and Gregory of Tours calls it *Psalterium perpetuum*, a continued recitation.

²⁰ Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. c. 8.

Gregory the Great collected and arranged the musical fragments of the ancient hymns and psalms, which had been most approved by the first Christians, and Fathers of the church. He reformed the music in a manner not now precisely understood; but it is likely to have been an attempt to restore it to a nearer resemblance of the ancient Roman and Grecian sacred music: and he introduced musical notes or signs, which were placed over the words, to shew the manner and degree in which the voice was to be pitched and sounded in chanting them ²¹.

Pepin, in his intercourses with Italy, first observed what he reckoned the inferiority of the French sacred music, and made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce into France Gregory's improvements, called the Gregorian or Roman Chant. The French singers did not believe themselves to be inferior, and were jealous of the Italians. Charlemagne, with more zeal and success, endeavoured to remove that jealousy; placed Italian teachers, or those whom he had sent to Rome to be trained in the Roman manner, in different situations in France, at Metz and Soissons; and ordained, that the monks and clergy should universally adopt and observe the Roman Chant, for the sake of order and uniformity in the church ²².

Charlemagne thus corrected the *antiphonaria* of the French church, which, till then, were altered and corrupted according to the pleasure of every leader of a sacred choir. But the French were never able, adds the annalist, to execute the beats, the trills, the shakes, and accents of the Italians;

²¹ Gen. Hist. of Music, by Dr. Burney, vol. ii. ch. 1.

²² Capitul. lib. i. cap. 80. Sangall. de Gestis Car. Magni, lib. i. c. 87,

nor had they sufficient flexibility of voice to imitate their various graces²³.

The same author speaks in this period too, of the Roman musicians or chanters teaching those of France to play on the organ; not probably for sacred purposes, but for private entertainment. The first organ seen in France, was a present from Constantine Copronymus, A. D. 757, to Pepin. Several were soon after constructed in imitation of it, for private use; and the music of the organ was one of the luxuries with which Primas, a bishop, whose diocese is not mentioned, entertained Charlemagne's officers, when he was anxious that they should make a favourable report of him to that emperor²⁴. The prejudices of the church in earlier times, had been so strong²⁵ against instrumental music, and in the reign of Charlemagne the organ was still such a novelty, that it is not likely he would have ventured to introduce it into the churches, but at first into his own private chapel only: and the general opinion is, that organs were not used in any Christian church till the tenth or eleventh century²⁶.

²³ Annal. Franc. ab A. D. 708 ad 990.

²⁴ Sangallensis, lib. i. de Gestis Car. Magni.

²⁵ Justin Martyr. Quæst. ad Orthodox. 107. He says expressly, that the practice of singing with instrumental music was not received in Christian churches.

²⁶ Burney's Gen. Hist. of Music.

CHAP. VI.

The History of Commerce in France, from Clovis, A. D. 486, till the death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

COMMERCE supposes not only industry, but a knowledge of the wants, as well as the superfluities of men, in different regions of the earth. It is a state requiring so much improvement, and so great a spirit of enterprize, as cannot be expected to be soon attained in society.

Man labours first to supply his immediate and most necessary wants; and when these are satisfied, prudence, enforced by the experience of former hardships, will dispose him to make provision for future exigencies. The industry of a man in the ordinary course of things, is more than sufficient to procure subsistence for himself: his habit of activity, and his perseverance in industry, will soon furnish him with an abundance of superfluities. The very idea of so much superfluous stock might check his habit of industry, and again reduce him to penury, were there no channel to give issue to that superfluity, or any new motive to excite perseverance in industry.

Barter.

He observes others, however, in similar circumstances with himself; their stock has accumulated in an equal abundance, but consists of articles of a different kind: these are articles suited to his real or imaginary wants, and his superfluous articles are
not

not less suited to theirs; he therefore exchanges his corn for their fish, or his cloth for their cattle.

The natural diversity of men's talents, and the accidental variety of their situations, will naturally direct them to different kinds of industry, and furnish them with various sorts of provision. One is more inclined and qualified for the active pursuits, and occasionally severe exertions of hunting; another for the watchful and patient exercise of fishing: one feels a kind of society and enjoyment in a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle; and the mechanical genius of another fits him for constructing the various instruments of art.

Their respective situations, too, will influence individuals. The adjacent hills, or forests, present temptations to the hunter; rivers and shores solicit the genius of the fishers; some fields are more fit for pasture than for tillage; some are more fit for sheep than larger cattle; and some soils and situations more favourable for vines than corn. Necessity and accident thus often concur with natural genius, with conveniency, and with the love of variety, to produce and promote barter, the first and most natural species of commerce.

In this state, however, it must be confined within very narrow limits. The knowledge of one another's wants, or superfluities, seldom extends much beyond their particular district; nor will they, in a rude state, submit to the trouble or risque of transporting bulky articles to great distances.

It must also frequently happen, that two persons want something which neither can spare to the other, but with which a third and a fourth may accommodate them. The parties, too, may be distant: they would not probably discover each other's wants, nor means of supplying those wants, without the intervention of one whose interest it becomes

Travelling
merchants.

becomes to inform them, and treat with them; who purchases the superfluities of one man or district, and disposes of them to another; who with this view travels backwards and forwards, at once collecting and expending, as he advances over the country, the various articles of provision and merchandise. This intervention being found lucrative, will naturally encourage men to study it, and to persevere in the practice of it; and at last will gradually form in society a class of merchants by profession.

Means of
apprecia-
tion.

A new difficulty will soon arise in ascertaining the value of commodities. Cattle and sheep, though of various sizes; and slaves, whether born in servitude or taken captives in war, however different in their mental talents and bodily strength, will at first be bartered by the head. Corn and wine, of different qualities and measures, may also for some time be bartered by the gross quantity, without descending into any accurate appreciation; and that which is most generally or frequently exchanged, will be reckoned the staple of the district, and the standard for estimating such articles as are less common. Thus, in one country, the price of a thing will be reckoned by a bullock, in another by a sheep, in a third by an *amphora* of wine, in a fourth by a *modius* of corn, and in a fifth by a slave: the price of land will be said to be so many cattle, so much corn or wine, or so many slaves. "The Italian merchants," says Diodorus, "take advantage of the intemperance of the Gauls, to promote their trade: as far as the rivers are navigable, they transport wine to them by water; and where navigation fails, they convey it to them in waggons, and receive a great price for it. For a *κεράμιον*, *cadus*, (about eighteen gallons,) of

“ of wine, they receive *puerum*; a young male-
“ slave.”

These, however, must soon be found very im-
perfect standards of value, and very inconvenient
means of traffic. Their various sizes and qualities
must render their value always uncertain, unless
when they are actually produced and inspected:
they do not answer for things of small or inferior
value: it is not always easy or convenient to con-
vey them; recourse therefore must have been
had early to weights and measures, as the true
means of equal and just trade; and to the precious
metals, gold and silver, as the most convenient
signs and standards of value. “ Phidon, or Pala-
“ medes,” says Pliny, “ first invented weights
“ and measures.” They are so natural and ne-
cessary, however, that we ought not only to assign
them an early origin, but to ascribe their invention
to several persons and countries. We know cer-
tainly, that different countries give them not only
different names, but regulate them by very different
standards and subdivisions.

Precious
metals.

The difficulty of procuring the precious metals,
and the comparatively small quantity of them
which can be found, made them, and still makes
them, though in a less degree, an object of cu-
riosity. Their lustre and beauty render them highly
ornamental, as well as precious: they are calcu-
lated to gratify vanity, as well as curiosity and avarice;
they are easily carried from one place to
another, and are capable of being subdivided va-
riously into fractional parts.

For a long time they used to be weighed at
every transaction¹. One of the greatest improve-

Coins.

¹ Diod. Sicul. lib. v. c. 26.

² Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 56.

³ “ Abram weighed to Ephron the silver which he had
“ named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred
“ shekels of silver current with the merchant.” Gen. xxiii. 16.

ments in mercantile affairs, was the ascertaining of their value over a great extent of country, by stamping or coining them. The currency of private coins was proportioned to the character and publicity of the person who issued them: the improvement was complete; but the æra is uncertain when their value was ascertained by the nation, and stamped with the image of the sovereign.

Fairs.

It must have often happened that merchants, in travelling from place to place, came not always when their goods were most wanted; or when there was the greatest store of commodities on hand, and in their best state, collected in order to barter, or generally for sale: set times, therefore, came to be appointed, which were the most seasonable for the country, and convenient for the traders. Fairs, or public markets, in central or usually frequented situations, were instituted. The clergy encouraged them, at the time of sacred festivals, in the neighbourhood of cathedrals and monasteries: they were convenient for the people who were assembled there for a religious purpose; and the clergy hoped that they would prove an inducement to bring the people to worship, when they found that they could at the same time promote their worldly interest and conveniency by the sale of what was superfluous, and by the purchase of what was necessary or desirable. Hence we perceive that those fairs abounded, not only in France, but over Europe.

Inland traders, or travelling merchants, appear in very early times to have been men of no inconsiderable stock and enterprise. They crossed the Alps, which in the days of Cæsar was extremely difficult, with heavy loads of merchandize*: they

* Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 1.

extended

extended their journeys from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, and from the German ocean to the Elbe and Danube; travelling generally in large companies, in the same manner, and for the same reason, as the caravans of Asia and Africa. They traded not only in the necessaries and comforts of life, but in the instruments of war; and on one occasion, Samon, a Frenchman, the leader of a caravan, was thought worthy, in the reign of Dagobert, not only to head the army, but to ascend the throne of Sclavonia, which he occupied thirty-five years with great respectability, till he died⁵. Sometimes their inability to defend themselves exposed them to be plundered, as happened among the Sclavonians during the reign of Samon, and which was the occasion of a war betwixt him and Dagobert, in which the latter proved unsuccessful⁶.

To prevent those quarrels, by confining the traders within the limits and protection of the empire; to hinder them from exporting arms into foreign countries, and to confine their commerce and its financial advantages within his own dominions, Charlemagne prohibited the French merchants from passing eastward beyond Lunenburg, Magdeburg, Ratibon, &c. and from trading at all in arms⁷.

Their trade was frequently embarrassed too, by the unjust impositions of local proprietors. It was reasonable to exact some revenue for the state, on account of the general protection which it afforded trade; and to levy a pontage, or toll, on passing along a bridge, on account of the expence of erecting it, either by the state, or by the lord of the district: but the avarice of individuals con-

⁵ Fredegar. c. 48. 68.

⁶ Id. c. 72.

⁷ Lex Salica a Carol. Magn. emendat. cap. 3. tit. 5.

trived various unreasonable occasions of demand ; they stretched ropes across certain narrow passes, at or near the entrance on their lands, where they insisted on receiving a toll : even from the traders who passed, not along a bridge, but along the river under it, they demanded a sum, in name of pontage ; therefore Charlemagne interposed his Imperial authority to remove these embarrassments, and ordered every subject of difference on this head to be brought before himself for judgment, or before his commissaries^b.

Fairs were convenient for those who resided far in a thinly inhabited country ; for those who had collected a large stock of superfluities, which they wanted to dispose of ; and for those who were able to purchase and lay up a sufficient quantity of articles, which they were likely to want before the next public market. But men of inferior fortune and less foresight, or who were constantly dependent on unforeseen occurrences, must have felt many wants and inconveniences arising from them, in the intervals between the fairs : this would suggest to some the advantage of keeping a store always well supplied and in one place, and especially in or near a large village or city, adapted to the condition and wants of this order of men ; hence the rise of local, or stationary merchants. These excite little attention, but must soon have become frequent in all the considerable towns of Gaul. Their privileges as a society of merchants, or guild brethren, are of a comparatively late date or origin.

Stationary
or local
merchants.

From one city or province, the spirit of mercantile enterprise proceeds from one nation to another. The region abounding in wool may be destitute of iron ; vines may flourish where corn will not grow.

^b Lex Salica a Carol. Magn. emendat. cap. 3. tit. 13.

The merchants, accustomed to traffic betwixt the south and north, or east and west of France, seem to extend their trade but a little farther, when they gradually carry it into Italy, Spain, Britain, or Germany, or even into the various countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

This progress, however natural and gradual, was not the very order and manner in which the spirit and practice of commerce grew and flourished in France. It was rather of foreign extraction; was brought from Greece by the Phœceans, planted and cultivated at Marseilles, and from Marseilles propagated over all the cities of the *Romanæ Provinciæ*; and thence northward and eastward, to the Seine, and beyond the Rhine. The Romans favoured merchants, and granted them various protection and important privileges.

Foreign
trade.

A spirit of adventure seems to have been natural to this Grecian colony. They were not satisfied with the ports to which they were accustomed to trade, in Italy, Asia, and Africa; they were solicitous to rival the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and to discover the sources of their trade and wealth, particularly in the west and northern ocean. This was probably the occasion of the voyage undertaken and performed by Pytheas and Euthymenes, both natives of Marseilles. The former was a physician by profession, but he had made astronomy and geography the subjects of his early and most zealous study. Different opinions have been formed of his accuracy; but it is generally agreed, that by his means the merchants of Marseilles discovered the British islands, and the sources of the tin trade, so long engrossed and concealed by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians.

⁹ Herodotus calls the islands whence the Asiatics in general got their tin, Cassiterides, but confesses his ignorance of them. Thalia, 115. Mem. del' Acad. tom. xix. p. 158.

The latter, Euthymenes, sailed southwards beyond the equator.

Some authors have denied that the colony reaped any immediate or direct advantage from the discovery of the British isles, because they did not carry on the trade altogether by sea. The reason, however, seems to have been, that they were unwilling to expose themselves not only to so long a voyage, but to the Carthaginians, who were extremely jealous of their interfering in that trade. Therefore, by means of the Gauls on the west coast, who were expert sailors enough for that kind of voyage, they transported the tin from the Isle of Wight, whither it was brought by the British merchants to the mouths of the Seine, of the Loire, and Garonne; thence, along these rivers: it was carried in waggons, or on horses, overland, thirty days' journey; and afterwards along the Saone, and so down the Rhone¹⁰.

The merchants of Marseilles and Narbonne conveyed the tin to the different ports to which they had been accustomed to sail, on account of their other merchandize, along the coasts of the Mediterranean sea.

Ausonius, *de claris Urbibus*, informs us, that the port of Narbonne was frequented by fleets from Sicily and Spain, from Africa and Asia. When the harbour of Narbonne became choked with sand, Montpellier succeeded it, as the great resort of the Mediterranean trade.

From Egypt the merchants of France brought paper, (*papyrus*,) spiceries, vegetable roots, and oil¹¹. During Lent, the monk Hospitius lived on certain roots brought him by the merchants from

¹⁰ Strabo, lib. iv. 186. 188. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. sec. 22.

¹¹ Id. lib. v. c. 5.

Egypt. They appear to have imported also wine from Gaza, or rather from Cadiz¹².

The dress of the people of rank at the court of Dagobert, consisted of silk (*holoserica*) over their linen garments. Saint Eloy's dress, particularly, was farther enriched with a great display of precious stones¹³. Both silk and stones, it is probable, must have been exported directly from the east, by the merchants of Marseilles; though some think they purchased them at second hand from the merchants of Italy.

Several passages in the historians of those times shew, that there was a direct and frequent intercourse betwixt Marseilles and Asia. Among other wares, they imported reliés from Syria to Bourdeaux¹⁴.

Nothing seems to have been more easy at all times, both before and after the conquest of Clovis, than the passage from Gaul to Asia and Africa; the road seems to have been constantly frequented by ambassadors, bishops, and pilgrims¹⁵. When Gontran made his public entry into Orleans, praises and acclamations were heard on every hand, not only by his own subjects, but by Italians, Jews, and Syrians, in their own language¹⁶.

On the whole, it appears that the trade of Gaul, and afterwards of France, was uniformly brisk and extensive. Bourdeaux, and other cities on the

¹² Mem. de l'Acad. de Belles Lettres. But in looking into Gregory of Tours, lib. vii. 29. Paris edit. 1661, instead of *vinum Gazetinum*, I find *Gatixinum*; it is likely therefore, that the strong wine was from Cadiz in Spain, rather than from Gaza in Syria.

¹³ Audoen. Vit. S^{ti}. Eig. i. 13.

¹⁴ Greg. Tur. lib. vii. 31.

¹⁵ Id. lib. x. 24. 26. Ball. Vie de St. Genev. c. 6.

¹⁶ Greg. Tur. lib. viii. 1.

ocean, as flourishing as those of the Mediterranean, traded with Britain, Spain, Germany, Italy, Constantinople, Egypt, &c.

Strabo (lib. iv.) represents Corbillion on the Loire as equal in trade to Marseilles, or Narbonne; which city, M. Huet thinks, may have been the original name of Nantes.

Decline of
commerce.

But civil and foreign wars must always disturb, interrupt, and often ruin the commerce of nations, which naturally prospers by tranquillity, order, and security; but languishes and declines in proportion to the want of security, or to the disorders and obstacles which are thrown in its way.

The jealousies and wars between the Gauls and Romans, and afterwards between the different states and kingdoms, disturbed and discouraged commerce, not only in the time of Clovis and his successors, as when Gontran prohibited all intercourse between his own and Childebert's subjects¹⁷, but also when Charlemagne set limits to the merchants in Germany, both in respect to the articles which they should sell, and the extent to which they should travel.

The names at least of the Greek and Roman measures, weights, and money, seem to have been exclusively adopted in Gaul.

Liquid Measure.

In Liquid Measure 6 *cyathi*, or 2 *beminae*, or *minae*; made 1 *sextarius*, which was near 2 pints English, or near a Scotch chopin.

6 *Sextarii* was a *congius*.

8 *Congii*, }

3 *Modii*, } or 48 *sextarii*, was an *amphora*.

An *amphora*, which was a cubic foot, contained 80 Roman pounds of rain-water; a *congius*, 10 lib.; and a *sextarius*, 1 lib. 8 ounces.

The *amphora* was thus near 9 English gallons; the *congius*, nearly a gallon; and the *sextarius*, more than one pint and a half English.

The *chientix*, which is also sometimes mentioned in the authors of this period, was 2 *sextarii*.

Though the French adopted these names, or though the writers of their history adopted them, yet the quantity signified by them is various in different periods and parts of the kingdom; nor could that variety be stated with precision, without unnecessary minuteness.

Their Dry Measure was no less variable.

Dry Measure.

The *modius*, containing 16 *sextarii*, or 32 *minæ*, was the third of a cubic foot, being rather more than a peck English. A *modius* of Gallic wheat weighed about 20 *libræ* or pounds, five of which were sown on an acre, six of barley or beans, and three of pease. Hence they measured their land by the number of *modii* requisite to sow it¹⁸.

In Weights, 24 Grains made a *denier*, or *denarius*, Weights.

3 *Deniers*, or scruples, a drachm,

8 *Drachmæ*, an ounce,

16 Ounces a pound¹⁹.

In Long or Land Measure,

12 Thumbs, or inches, made a foot,

6 Feet a *tefis*, or toise,

885 Toises, a mile.

But in other parts of the same country,

13 Inches made a foot,

24 Feet, a *pertica*, perch, or pole,

100 Poles, an *arpennis*.

Again, 1½ Foot made a cubit,

5 Feet a pace,

125 Paces, a *stadium*, or furlong,

8 *Stadia*, a mile²⁰.

¹⁸ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 24. Ducange ad Voc. *Modius* et *Sextarius*.

¹⁹ Ducange ad Voc. *Marca*.

²⁰ Greg. Tur. lib. i. c. 6. Ducange ad Voc. *Partica*.

Money.

Money was scarce, and little used. It served nominally to appretiate goods, rather than to purchase them; and though it was the means also of estimating injuries, the compensation so estimated was generally paid in kind; that is, in goods or cattle,

The *solidum* of gold, and the *denarius* of silver, only are mentioned in the Salic and Ripuary Laws. There were 5 *Denarii* in a drachm of silver,

8 Drachms in an ounce, or *solidum*,

75 *Solidi* were made out of 1 pound of gold²¹.

The *solidum* of fine gold weighed $85\frac{1}{3}$ grains, but it was mixed with nearly a third of alloy, which so diminished its value as to prevent its currency with other nations; it might be worth about six shillings sterling.

The silver *solidum*, which Charlemagne ordered to be the twentieth part of the pound of twelve ounces, weighed 345 grains, and might be worth about three shillings sterling.

The silver *denarius*, weighing 21 grains, was about one penny three farthings²².

It appears from the Capitularies, that a *denarius* purchased twenty-four loaves of white bread; and Voltaire is of opinion that there was a pound of bread in each loaf²³.

A sheep's skin, which Charlemagne wore over his shoulders, cost a silver *solidum*²⁴.

The council of Thoulouse, a little later indeed than the period of which we treat, A. D. 843, ordained that the bishop, in visiting his dio-

²¹ Jo. Geo. Eceard. Not. ad Leg. Salic. tit. i. p. 12.

²² M. L. e Blanc, Traité Hist. de Monnoye de France.

²³ Capit. Caroli Magni. Velly Hist. tom. ii. p. 97. 103. Hist. Univ. de Volt.

²⁴ St. Gall. de Vit. Caroli Magni, in Coll. Caniffii.

cese, should have it in his option to receive either two *solidi* of gold daily, or subsistence in kind, viz. a *modius* of corn, a *modius* of barley, a *modius* of wine, and a lamb, or good pig, two pullets, and some eggs.

The fourth canon of the same council advises the bishops in their visitations, not to stay at every small church, but to go rather to the principal churches, where the inferior clergy shall meet them, and bring their people to be instructed and confirmed, visiting thus but about one church or parish in five. And that each parish shall furnish to him, and bring along with them on that occasion, ten loaves, sixteen gallons of wine, a good quantity of oats, a fat sucking pig, two pullets, and some eggs, for the maintenance of the bishop and his attendants; that the person where the bishop lodges, shall accommodate him with nothing but wood and household utensils; but if they did not visit, they were to receive nothing.

By the Salic Law, the value of a cow, supposing the fine or compensation for killing her equal to her price, was - 30 *solidi*, = £. 9 0 0 sterl.
 A work horse, - 40 *solidi*, = 12 0 0
 A two years old wether, 3 *solidi*, = 0 18 0

CHAP. VII.

The History of Languages, Customs, Manners, &c. in France, from Clovis, A. D. 486, till the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

SECT. I.

Of Language.

THE origin and revolution of languages is not merely a subject of curious speculation, calculated to gratify the antiquarian and the philologist, but is intimately connected with history, and may serve to ascertain both the origin and revolutions of nations.

Nothing is more difficult, either to acquire or to change, than language. You may overrun and subdue a people; you may alter the administration, or change the nature of their government and laws; you may introduce new customs, and even a new religion, among them; but for a very long period, whatever authority or violence you exercise, you may not be able to produce a total change on their native tongue.

Should the authority of law impose on them the language of their conquerors, in the exercises of religion, and in the public transactions of civil society, they will still resort in their private and familiar intercourses to their native tongue; and should even that, after many ages, cease to be spoken,

spoken, it will yet survive almost for ever in the names of towns, rivers, and mountains.

The Celtic, which appears to have been the original language of a great part of Europe, may still be traced in the several dialects of the western nations. No example, as far as we know, of original Celtic now remains, the Druids having industriously prohibited writing; it is therefore extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to decide among various competitors, as the Gaelic, the Welsh, and the Irish, &c. which of their dialects approaches nearest to the ancient Celtic.

There is no doubt that the Celtic was the original language of Gaul. It was first invaded by the Greek tongue, and by comparing two passages of Cæsar (lib. i.), it seems as if many of the people even in the interior of the country had acquired the knowledge of the living words and phrases, but were ignorant of the written language. Nor was any more reasonably to be expected. The colony at Marseilles, however numerous, were not equal to the native population. Intercourse would necessarily produce some knowledge of ordinary language, but neither was that intercourse for many years extensive; nor was it taught or desired by the Druids and their disciples, in such a manner as to have diffused the knowledge of reading or writing it.

It is commonly believed that the Latin became the ordinary language of the Gauls, after they were subjected by Cæsar to the Roman empire; and it is true, that the most effectual means were employed for that end. The Druids, the chief obstacle to any religious or political change, were banished or suppressed; Latin was introduced by

* The curious may consult Pezron's, *Origin of Ancient Nations*, and Bullet's *Memoires sur la Langue Celtique*.

public authority into the courts of law, and recommended by all the patronage and influence of the state. Latin schools were established in the order of Caligula at Lyons, Besançon, &c.; academies were formed at Marseilles, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Auvergne, Poitiers, &c. for that and the other purposes of literature. These, added to the universal and familiar intercourse of the Romans with the Gauls, must have contributed to communicate among them, in the progress of time, a general knowledge of the Latin tongue².

A little reflection, however, will satisfy us that the number of people who acquired it were few over the whole country, compared to the general mass, who either from want of opportunity, from indifference, or from pride, continued to use their mother tongue.

It more frequently happens, that strangers accommodate themselves to the natives, than that the natives give way to strangers. Such of them as are resident, and unaccommodating in their temper, will associate more with their own countrymen than with the people among whom they live. Soldiers stationed in different quarters, to maintain the submission and order of the country, were not allowed to mingle freely with the inhabitants; nor were they the people from whom the inhabitants could be expected cheerfully to learn a foreign language. Besides, it is scarcely credible how small the number of soldiers was by whom the Gauls were kept in awe. "The Gauls," said Agrippa to the Jews, in dissuading them from insurrection, "are kept in subjection and order by twelve hundred soldiers, a people whose cities are twelve hundred

² Mem. de l' Acad. tom. xxiv. p. 591.

“in number².” Supposing Roman colonies, and many villas, for there were certainly many Romans of rank who preferred a residence in Transalpine Gaul, they must be supposed to have influenced the language but of the small circle around themselves, and not to have leavened the whole mass of the people. Authority, and other political motives, operated on men only of political and ambitious minds, who were exposed to the notice of rulers, or disposed to court their attention and favour. We know the partial effect produced by a similar plan of William of Normandy on the people of England. So many schools and academies would contribute to extend the Roman language among the people of rank in Gaul, and among such as were desirous of learning; but the common people in most countries are regardless of it, and insensible of its advantages; and the Gauls must have been peculiarly prejudiced against it, if they were attached to Druidical reverence and customs.

But we have more direct evidence than that of analogy and inference; we have the positive testimony of the historians of those times, that long after the Augustan age the Celtic continued to be the common language of Gaul. Strabo, who wrote in the reign of Tiberius, says (lib. iv.), that the people of Aquitania spoke a different language or dialect from that of the rest of the Gauls. We need neither enquire on this occasion what that language was, nor whether Strabo included the second Aquitania, or not, in the district of which he speaks; it is sufficient to receive his testimony, that the Roman tongue had not generally extended even beyond the eastern branches of the Garonne.

² Josephus, lib. ii. c. 16. de Bello Judaico.

Tacitus,

Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, considers the language of Brittany as a dialect only of that generally spoken in Gaul; and Diodorus, Pliny, and all the other writers of the two first centuries of the Christian æra, who notice at all this subject, speak of the Celtic as the common language of that country.

In the Acts of the Martyrs of Lyons, A. D. 177, it is specially observed, that one of the confessors answered the interrogations put to him in Latin only, which shews that it was unexpected and remarkable. Irenæus bishop of Lyons, in the second century, apologises, in the preface to his five books against heretics, for his want of correctness and elegance of style, from his residence among those to whom the Celtic language was most familiar. Jerome, in the preface to the second book of his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, written in the end of the fourth century, observes that these Asiatics, besides the Greek language, spoke also a dialect very like that spoken at Treves. Severus Sulpicius, in the first dialogue of his Life of Saint Martin, written in the fifth century, makes one of the speakers say to the other, "Speak in the Celtic or Gallican tongue, if you prefer it, provided only you speak of Saint Martin;" and Sidonius Apollinaris, writing to his friend Ecdicius, acknowledges the difficulty of writing pure Latin, free from Celtic phrases and idioms.

From these facts it appears, that the Celtic continued to be the vulgar tongue of the Gauls, not only when the Romans conquered them, but during their dominion in that country, and till its conquest by the Barbarians.

Let us now recollect that the Gauls, when Cæsar invaded them, and obtained the facts on which we have founded a calculation of their number,

number*, amounted at least to eighteen millions of souls. The Goths and Burgundians at the most did not exceed eighty thousand each; and their dominion and residence in Gaul was comparatively of short duration. They might, in the course of a century or two, corrupt; but they could not change; the language of so great and populous a country.

The Franks do not appear to have been more numerous than either of these tribes, and they must have been extended over a large tract of country. It is likely, indeed, that they occasionally received fresh accessions to their numbers from Germany, when they became permanent, and the rulers of Gaul. The old German, or Tudesque language, which is said to have been a dialect of the Gothic, may be expected to have made some impression, and contributed somewhat to alter the language of the natives. It must have acquired more influence as intercourse became more frequent and common with Germany, and especially under the government of Charlemagne, who was born in that country, and appears on the whole to have been favourable to his native dialect. His great ambition, however, was to promote learning, rather than language. He required the people generally to send their children to school; that they who were instructed, should teach others at home; and that such as could attain no more, should at least learn to repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their native tongue*.

The councils both of Mayence and Tours, A.D. 813, require that all the people shall be instructed in their native tongue, whether Roman, vulgar, or Tudesque.

* See the Introduction to this History.

* Capitul. 161 et 185.

On the whole, these three dialects, Latin, Celtic, and Tudesque, prevailed so generally and so long in Gaul, that sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, according to the district and origin of the people who resided in it, is called the vulgar tongue. They gradually mingled together in process of time; and, according to the vicissitudes of the country and people, formed the Roman, or Romanesque, and finally the present French, language.

SECT. II.

Of Customs and Manners.

THE constitutional principles of human nature being the same in every age and country, admitting of some variety only from climate and culture, the customs and manners of all early nations may be expected to bear a near resemblance. In a rude state of society, the knowledge, the wants, and the ambition of men, are confined to few objects. Every one is chiefly attentive to the immediate gratification of his own appetites; the nearest stream of water quenches his thirst; and if he shall have advanced beyond the state of hunting and fishing, a small spot of land will furnish him and his family, by their industry, with all that is farther necessary for their subsistence. Having the necessaries of life, they scarcely extend their thoughts beyond them: if these fail in one place, it occasions little uneasiness; the family or tribe assemble, and wander wherever the climate and soil appear more favourable.

Every man is thus independent and free. He associates with others, because his nature disposes
him

him to society, and because a general association is necessary for mutual defence and general security. In such a community, few laws are requisite; and, like the manners which they regulate, will be rude and simple.

The face of the country, both in Gaul and Ger- Climate.
many, except in a few particular districts, is represented as plain, intersected by many great and navigable rivers, and covered with extensive forests and frequent marshes. In respect of natural situation, the temperature must vary according to the degree of northern latitude, and to the vicinity of mountains, marshes, and the ocean. Germany has been always found colder than France, and the Seine and the Rhine more subject than the Rhone or the Garonne to the severity of frost; but in both countries, and in their several regions, the winter has generally become milder in modern than in ancient times. The reason is obvious: the forests which now remain, are not to be compared, in age or extent, with those which covered both Germany and Gaul in the days of the Romans. The marshes are now drained, and the lands in general cultivated; the same quantity therefore of damp cold vapour cannot be lodged in them, raised into the atmosphere, nor poured, as the winds chanced to blow, over the face of the adjacent country. France is not now like ancient Gaul, so "grievously visited with frost and snow:" the waters of the greatest rivers are now never so strongly frozen that whole armies, with all their loaded wagons, could safely pass over them; nor is the temperature of the atmosphere so severe, that neither vines nor olives can grow to maturity¹.

¹ Diod. Sicul. lib. v.

Persons.

The native Gauls are represented as tall and fair; their hair inclining to red, their eyes blue, sharp, and fierce, and their temper irritable and haughty. Their women indulged freely in scolding; and sometimes shewed remarkable agility in kicking and boxing those with whom they passionately quarrelled². "Vandals and Visigoths," says Procopius, (lib. i. c. 8.) "are all tall and fair; their hair is yellow, their countenance open; they have all the same religion, (the Arian,) the same laws, and the same language, which is called Gothic." Strabo says, (lib. vii.) that the Germans differed little from the Gauls in manners, size, features, or colour. Tacitus is of the same opinion; but Cæsar observes, that the Germans were taller and more robust than the Gauls. Both of them were nearly of the size of Britons, and exceeded the tallest of the Romans half a foot³. The Greeks were rather superior in size; Strabo indeed calls them gigantic, and they were generally well-proportioned and handsome.

Such were the nations whose posterity have now for so many centuries occupied the kingdom of France; and though some alterations must have taken place after so long a period, yet a resemblance both in person and temper is generally manifest.

Temper.

Their mind is lively and ardent; their feelings are quick and impatient; the first impulse is the strongest: they do not appear so much to want natural fortitude and vigour; as that self-government which is so necessary to success in both private and public duties; in the arts of peace as well as of war; and which nations in a less favourable

² Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. c. 12.

³ Strabo, lib. v. Cluver, Germ. Antiq. lib. i. c. 14.

soil and climate, or in a more dependent political state, are forced, from their pinching wants, numerous hardships, and stricter habits of subjection, early to learn.

The phrases of Latin authors applied to Gauls and Germans, *immanes*, *feroces*, *truces*, &c. seem to refer to their ruder state of society, rather than to their natural temper; for the same authors have shewn by facts that they were mild and merciful. But the more civilized and luxurious Romans, who excelled them only in discipline, dreaded their superior size and strength of body, and scarcely ever recovered altogether from that terror which the Gauls inspired by their early invasion of Italy and sack of Rome.

The Gauls are represented as so grave at an early period of their history, that when a Grecian dancer appeared in the theatre to shew his art, they went out, calling it a species of madness or insanity. The reason might be, that their amusements in those times were chiefly of a warlike nature, tending to encourage and improve them in feats of arms.

The most northern of the German nations Tacitus represents as extremely poor and dirty, without arms, horses, or household gods. The rudest of the Gauls, when we advert to those times, on comparison were wealthy and civilized. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xv. c. 12.) testifies that the women, especially among the Gauls, were rather attentive to dress; and, however poor, they were always neat clean, and decently clothed.

The heads of slaves were shaved; and shaven ^{Dress.} or shorn hair became a mark of degradation or servitude. But freemen combed their long hair backwards from their brow to their neck, and again raising it upwards and forwards, formed it
L L into

into a tuft on the top of the head. Men of superior rank shaved their cheeks only, leaving large whiskers, or mustachoes⁴.

A vest of woollen, or furred skin, with a kind of mantle closely fitted, short on each side, reaching to the knees only, but long behind and before down to the feet, covered the body. Their striped *bracca*, breeches or trowsers, were ornamented with flowers and tassels: their legs and feet were wrapped in fillets, or bands of cloth of various colours. The coat or cloke worn by persons of high rank, was sometimes of white linen; and among the Franks or Germans, their clothes were made tight, so as to show accurately the shape and movements of the body⁵.

Linen was seldom made or used at an early period in Gaul. Saint Boniface, in one of his epistles to a German bishop, requests a large piece of it, as a thing not easily procured, to make use of in washing his feet. The scarcity of linen, and infrequent change and washing even of their woollen garments, must have been one great cause of diseases in the skin, and of leprosy.

The female dress was a simple cap on the head; in later times it was made of fine linen, but without lace. The gown, generally woollen, was pinned, or tied close over the neck, shoulders, and breast. Widows were dressed like religious persons.

Even the emperor Charlemagne's daughters were accustomed to spin, and employ themselves both in linen and woollen manufactures, "ne per otium torperent," that they might not acquire any habit of idleness.

⁴ Diod. Sicul. lib. v. c. 307.

⁵ Id. ibid. Apollin. Sid. Pan. Major. Sangall. lib. i. c. 36.

The female sex were highly esteemed by the Germans, insomuch that an enemy preferred them to the other sex as hostages, being assured that the terms or treaty, for their sake, would be held more sacred, and fulfilled with more promptitude and precision; and every circumstance was anxiously avoided which might prolong their captivity, or endanger their safety.

Respect for
the sex.

The nobles, freemen, and slaves did not intermarry; each, in forming that relation, adhered to their own rank. Degradation followed any man or woman who married an inferior, and generally it was extended to their children.

Marriage.

Polygamy was known, but not generally prevalent. Concubinage was more frequent; and rank was estimated among the nobles by the number of concubines; rather than wives.

Adultery was severely punished in the female: shaved and stripped in presence of her family, the criminal was publicly scourged through the village to which she belonged.

Early marriages were not encouraged; they appear to have considered it as both unnatural and unpolitical to marry before the twentieth year, and as the chief cause of a puny race⁶.

The bride brought no dowry; her friends, on the contrary, received considerable presents from the bridegroom. An ox, a horse suitably furnished, a javelin, and a sword, which he presented to the bride, or her nearest of kin, symbolically represented to both parties the labours, the active duties, and the virtues, which they ought to perform and cultivate in private and public, in prosperity and

⁶ "Sera juvenum Venus."—"Intra annum vigesimum femine notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus." Tacitus.

adversity, in peace and in war. The suitor betrothed his bride of whatever rank, with a sol and a denier ; or if a widow, with three sols and a denier, which were paid to the nearest relations of her late husband, or to the king⁷.

On the morning after the consummation of the marriage, the husband conferred on his wife what was called *morgengaba* ; that is, so much of his property as his rank and circumstances could afford, in money, furniture, houses, or lands. It became her own personal property, not only for life, but was conveyable by her will, or descended legally to her heirs. Galfwinda in this way received five cities in Aquitania⁸.

Among all ranks, marriage was an occasion of convivial intercourse and festivity.

Children.

Mothers suckled and reared their own children ; and in most cases in earlier times communicated that kind of education which furnishes the first principles of knowledge and morals. They taught them to reverence the gods ; and, by reciting often the exploits of their ancestors, inspired them with sentiments of ambition and valour.

They trained their daughters chiefly to domestic occupations and œconomy ; but studied also to furnish them with those accomplishments which were calculated to excite the attention and secure the esteem of the valiant.

A young man was incapable of public intercourse with his father, of sitting with him at table, or appearing his companion, till he was formally admitted, if a private person by the chieftain, or if a prince by a foreign king, to the profession of arms. In a sharp engagement of the two nations, Turis-

⁷ Salic Law, tit. 46.

Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 20.

mód, son of Turisend, king of the Gepidæ, was slain by Alboin, son of Audoin, king of the Lombards; and to his death was added a dreadful slaughter of his dejected and flying troops. The army of the victor proposed, that his father should admit him his companion in conviviality, who had fought with him so valiantly and successfully in the field of battle. But Audoin refused, saying, it is contrary to custom that a king's son should dine with his father, till he had been girt with armour by a foreign prince.

Alboin heard the words of his father, and without delay, accompanied by forty select youths, went to the court of Turisend, and told that king the occasion of his journey. He was kindly and hospitably received; and, at an entertainment given on the occasion, he was placed on Turisend's right hand, on the seat which his own son had been accustomed to occupy. During the entertainment, the father often looked on him as he sat in the place of Turismód: sentiments of tenderness and horror variously rushed into his mind, and sought vent in sighs; he meekly said, "the seat is desirable to look on, but it is hard to behold it occupied by him who now sits on it."

The words inflamed the breast of his other son; resentment kindled and spread over the hall; the Gepidæ seemed ready to massacre their guests. The Lombards, companions of Alboin, rose from their seats, and seized their swords: but the venerable king, Turisend, threw himself between them, declaring vengeance on the first of his people who should offer violence, contrary to the sacred rights of hospitality. He succeeded in pacifying them, and in restoring order and quiet; and taking the very armour of the late Turismód his son, he invested Alboin with it in due form; and, with the

most becoming and dignified expressions of regard and friendship, dismissed him. When the circumstances were reported to the court of Audoin, they knew not which most to admire, the courage of Alboin, or the tenderness, fortitude, and fidelity of Turisind⁹.

Widows.

A widow was not entitled to any share in hereditary property. Such a regulation was calculated in those times to secure her attention and attachment to her living husband, to afford her no temptation to look forward to his decease, and to interest her particularly in the safety and prosperity of her children, on whom she was to depend for future subsistence.

Succession.

The children succeeded equally to the property of their parents: nor were illegitimate children absolutely debarred; it is certain that they frequently claimed and obtained their share. Power, indeed, sometimes violated right, or supplied the place of law¹⁰.

Both Germans and Gauls rose usually with the sun, and after bathing, of which they were generally fond, they breakfasted, and entered on the business of the day.

Food.

Besides corn, variously dressed, their food was wild fruit, cheese, and milk in different forms; the flesh of the game which they caught in hunting; and, in later times, of the cattle, &c. which they reared and pastured.

Some authors have said that they ate the flesh raw; and, whether raw or roasted, that they did not cut it, but tore it with their hands and teeth¹¹. This practice, however, took place surely in a very early

⁹ Pauli Warnefr. de Gestis Langob. lib. i. c. 23, 24.

¹⁰ Cæsar, lib. vi. c. 16.

¹¹ Mela, lib. iii. c. 3.

period, or if in later times, among the meanest of the people.

Their common drink was milk and beer: the latter brewed from barley, was their beverage at festivals and formal entertainments, till it was somewhat superseded by the more plentiful culture of the vine. The process in brewing was much the same as at present. Cyder and perry were also not uncommon¹².

Entertain-
ments.

Their drinking frequently proceeded to excess: quarrels ensued, which did not merely terminate in bloodshed at the time, but were handed down to be avenged by future generations.

Dispositions of property were usually transacted at entertainments. To throw the *festu* into the bosom of another, calling him his heir, transferred the property alluded to, actually and irredeemably, on the heir so declared giving an entertainment to his benefactor *in beudo suo*, at his own table and expence¹³.

Pork appears to have been very common. The laws respecting swine are more numerous and particular than those respecting any other animals.

Poultry and chick pease were dishes prepared for a bishop at a royal table, and on a singular occasion¹⁴.

Salt was common both in Germany and Gaul. Varro, however, informs us, (lib. i. c. 8.) that the Gauls towards the Rhine burnt a certain kind of wood, and used its ashes for salt.

In order to terminate the quarrel of three lords of the country of Tournay, Fredegonde invited them to an entertainment, and placed them all three

¹² Mem. de l'Acad. vol. xxiv. 199. Pliny, lib. xxii. c. 25.

¹³ Cluver. Germ. Antiq. Sal. Leg.

¹⁴ Greg. Tur. lib. v. c. 18.

on the same bench: after dinner, the table was removed, but they continued sitting as before, drinking, as is the custom of the Franks. Their servants were absent at their dinner, and they were unsuspicious of danger: three men behind the bench, armed each with a hatchet, struck them on the head, and killed them¹⁵.

It is probable that these three assassins were introduced as candleholders; for the Gauls of a superior rank made servants hold the candles immediately behind them, at their entertainments. Seigneur Rauching, by way of amusement, made his valet hold the candle dropping over his own legs, so that the melted wax should fall on them; and the more the poor lad cried with pain, the more his master was entertained, threatening to run his sword through him if he attempted to stir¹⁶.

*A mufe-
menta.*

Tacitus represents the ancient Germans as fond of gaming to excess. When they had lost every thing else, they risked their own personal liberty on a throw of the dice. The loser was sold to discharge the debt, and went voluntarily into servitude.

One of the chief entertainments of the young men was a dance of peculiar danger, intended probably to improve their agility when really exposed to an enemy. The performer stripped himself naked, and leaped and skipped amidst the swords of his companions, who pointed them against him as they surrounded him in a ring. He who performed this exercise most nimbly, and yet without any wound, was rewarded with the loudest shouts of applause.

Hunting, originally one of the principal means of procuring subsistence, naturally becomes after-

¹⁵ Greg. Tur. lib. x. c. 26.

¹⁶ Id. lib. v. c. 3.

wards a great amusement. The ancient Germans were almost constantly engaged either in hunting or war; leaving not only domestic, but agricultural labours, to women and old men.

Hunting dogs, hawks, stags, bears, hunting bows and arrows, are frequent and important subjects of the Salic law, particularly c. 35.

The master hunter and forester were principal servants of the Merovingian princes¹⁷.

When Gontran the king was hunting in the forest, he observed a wild ox recently killed. He strictly examined the forester, if he knew who had dared to hunt and kill game in the royal forest. On finding that it was Chundo, the king's chamberlain, he ordered him to be thrown into prison; but the venerable chamberlain having denied the charge, he was required to vindicate himself by single combat. This his age did not permit him to do personally, but he substituted his nephew in his room. Both the nephew and the forester, his accuser, fell in the combat; and Chundo, as proved guilty by the fall of his substitute, fled for sanctuary to the church of Saint Marcellus: he was caught however before he entered the threshold, and being bound, was stoned to death.

Servitude in Gaul and Germany was different from that of Rome. No household services were required from slaves; for they were, even in superior families, performed generally by the wife and children. Slaves were chiefly employed in the labours of the field: they were scarcely ever subjected to confinement, or to corporal punishment: their lives were seldom endangered by severity of labour or discipline; but they were sometimes exposed to

Household
economy.

¹⁷ Hincmar, de Ordine Pal. c. 16. 24.

the caprice or rage of a passionate master, whom law or authority could not restrain.

It was not lawful for slaves to marry without the consent of their master. A young man and woman, two of the servants of Rauchingus, who was of considerable rank, being long and ardently attached to each other, married, and, aware of their danger, fled to a neighbouring sanctuary. Their master pursued, and demanded them; but the priest would not deliver them till Rauchingus swore that he would never separate them, or inflict on them any corporal punishment. Having thus recovered them, and carried them home, their master caused a large tree to be cut down, split, and hollowed; one half of the excavated wood he laid in a ditch dug for the purpose, about four feet deep, in which he laid the woman and the man together; then placing the other half of the wood hollowed in like manner over them, he covered the whole with earth; and when challenged, said he had not violated his vow, for that he had not separated, and never would separate them. The priest, however, remonstrated, and prevailed with him to dig them up: the man was found still alive, but the woman was suffocated¹⁸.

No mistress was ashamed to superintend the œconomy of her family, nor to work when necessary with her own hands. The empress of a great part of Europe, Charlemagne's queen, kept her own keys, and acted as her own steward: she took charge of all the moveables of the palace, and of the wardrobe; paid the officers of the household their wages, and regulated the expence of the family, of the dairy, and the stables.

¹⁸ Greg. Tur. lib. v. c. 3.

The emperor himself did not neglect the improvement of his lands, nor the œconomical management of their produce. Whatever was superfluous, even in the garden, he ordered to be sold¹⁹.

Their criminal laws were well-suited to that rude state of society. Fines, even for murder, served as a punishment, when it might have been found impracticable to have subjected the criminal to a capital trial. Traitors and deserters only were hanged: cowards, and persons guilty of unnatural crimes, were drowned, or suffocated in mud. The master of a family held the power of life and death, not only over his slaves, but their wives and children: this power gradually decreased, however, as Christianity prevailed, and as the order and authority of laws and government came to be established.

Plato observes, that many laws produce litigations and vices; the contrary will not hold, that few laws will secure concord and innocence. Tacitus says of the Germans, that good morals availed more than good laws: their morals, however, are not entitled to great approbation, since they were famous neither for chastity nor justice, for industry nor temperance²⁰. Their ideas of property indeed were like those of rude nations in general; they took freely whatever they found beyond the confines of their own district, supposing it common or free to any one. And on this principle we ought probably to judge more favourably of the South Sea islanders, and of American and African tribes, than is generally done.

¹⁹ Eginhart. Capitul.

²⁰ Cæsar, lib. vi. c. 19. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 12.

When

When Cæsar wrote, there was no common judge or magistrate during peace over the nation. Every chieftain or patriarch administered justice within his own tribe; but, in the time of Tacitus, judges were annually appointed by the general assembly of March, to hold courts of justice in the principal villages. The judge, who was usually a priest, had an hundred assessors assigned him in every court, not merely to assist him in counsel, but to support his authority and enforce his decisions.

Every *pagus*, village, or district, was independent, with respect to its civil rights and jurisdictions; but it was politically united with the other neighbouring *pagi*, for the purposes of general defence and security.

The laws, and the extensive authority of the first Merovingian princes, were not sufficient to reduce society externally to order; the temper and manners even of the first ranks were still unpolished, and sometimes savage. Rigundis, daughter of Chilperic, and grand-daughter of Clovis, envied her mother, the dowager queen, the possession and management of the moveable property and jewels which the king had left them. She upbraided, and even beat her mother, for claiming her share of them. The queen at last threw open her repositories, and particularly a large chest full of precious stuffs and ornaments, saying, "Why am I thus teased perpetually? there are the objects which you covet; examine them, and take what you will." Rigundis went eagerly forward, and stooped to examine the chest; her mother, pushing down the lid on her neck, would have choked her by its pressure, had not her
cries

cries discovered the violence, and brought assistance".

By the Salic law, daughters could receive no territorial patrimony, "ne de lancea transeat terra ad fufum." This law, which originated in times which required that no one should hold lands but a warrior who was able personally to defend them, gradually yielded to the milder spirit which grew out of regular government and order. "My dear daughter," said a proprietor, in a disposition addressed to her, preserved among the Formulæ of Marculfus²¹, "there is an ancient and barbarous custom among us, which excludes daughters from sharing a father's estate with their brothers; but I consider this law as impious, and that you my children are all given me equally by God, that you are equally the objects of my parental and kind affections, and ought to be equal sharers of my property after my decease; wherefore, by this writ or epistle, I constitute you the equal and legitimate heir, with your brothers, of my allodial as well as other estate whatever, or however acquired."

He plainly alludes to the 62d title of the Salic law, which has given so much occasion to controversy, and which declares that a woman cannot inherit any portion of the Salic lands.

Du Haillan supposes that this article or title was invented, and foisted into the Salic code by Philip the Long, king of France, to prevent his niece, the daughter of Lewis le Hutin, from succeeding to the kingdom.

The abbé Vertot, who calls Du Haillan, "*ecrivain audacieux*," is of opinion, that the custom

²¹ Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 35.

²² Lib. ii. f. 12.

on which the above law is founded, prevailed among all the rude nations of Germany even before the Salic law itself was composed.

Rapin writes a judicious treatise on the subject²³.

Money.

Money was little known. Property was generally valued and purchased, and fines and compensations were paid, in cattle. Roman coins gradually found their way into the country, and were afterwards imitated and circulated in greater abundance. The Gauls were early wealthy, by their intercourse with the Greeks and Romans; but the ferocity of the Germans, and their distance from the Roman province, long opposed an insurmountable barrier to merchandize, the natural and permanent source of riches.

The ignorance, and the want, of iron and steel among the Germans, appeared in the rudeness of their tools of husbandry, and in their armour. Swords and long spears were seldom seen. The *framea*, or javelin, the sling and shield, and the bow, chiefly used in hunting, were all their arms.

Funerals.

Their funerals, however simple, marked their superstition and affection. Sometimes they burnt the corpse of persons of distinction with precious wood: sometimes they buried them with their best clothes, their armour, their war-horse, their favourite servants, and even their wives.

Their tombs were of turf; those of the first French kings were destitute of all external show: their grandeur was internal, and appeared on opening them. They contained many rich garments, and much gold and silver, lamps, crucifixes, and

²³ Liv. x. Hist. Angleterre.

armour.

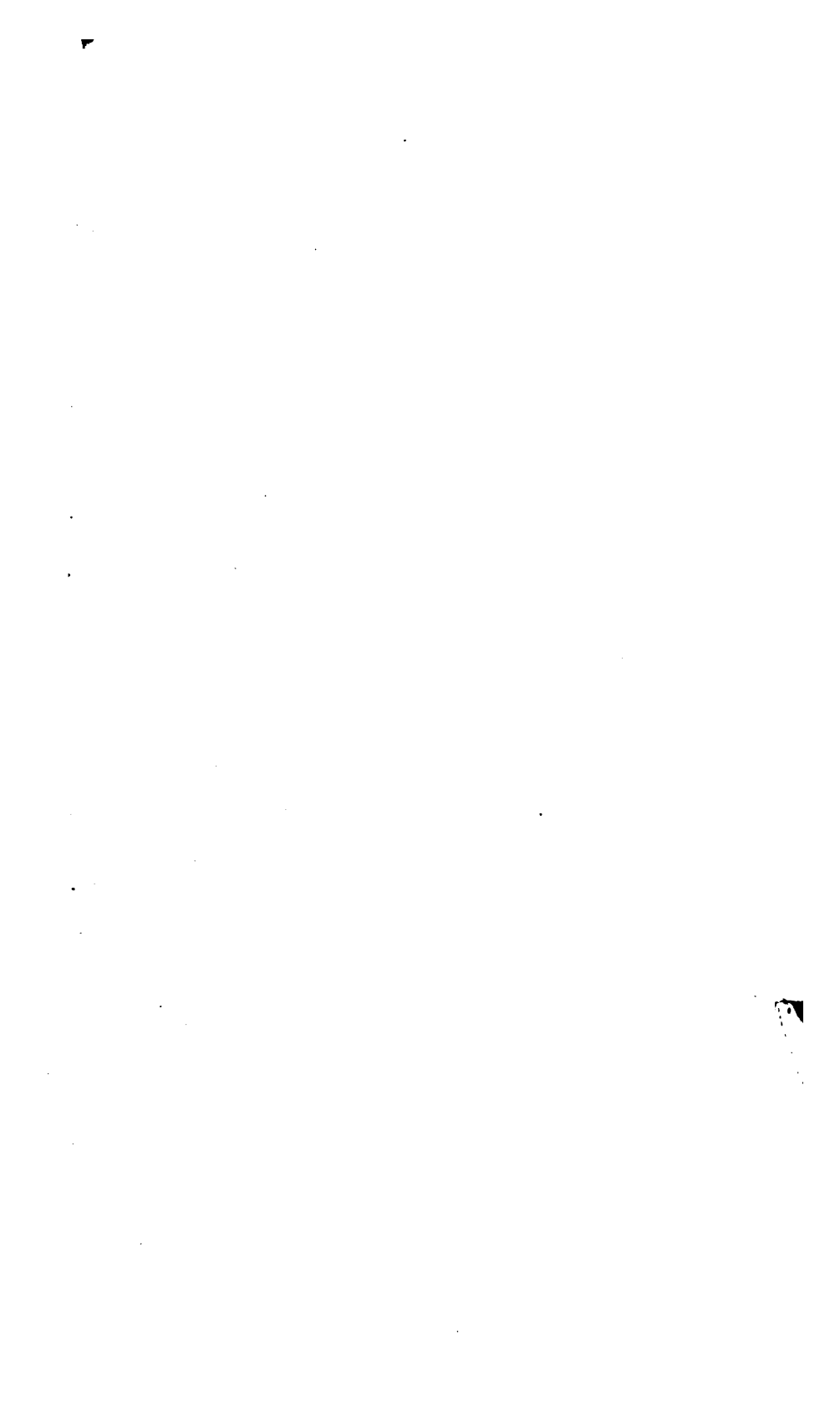
armour. They came afterwards to be more externally decorated and magnificent²⁴. The women were noisy in their grief; and the men retained long in their minds the memory of their deceased friends²⁵.

²⁴ Cæsar, lib. vi. c. 17.

²⁵ Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 27.

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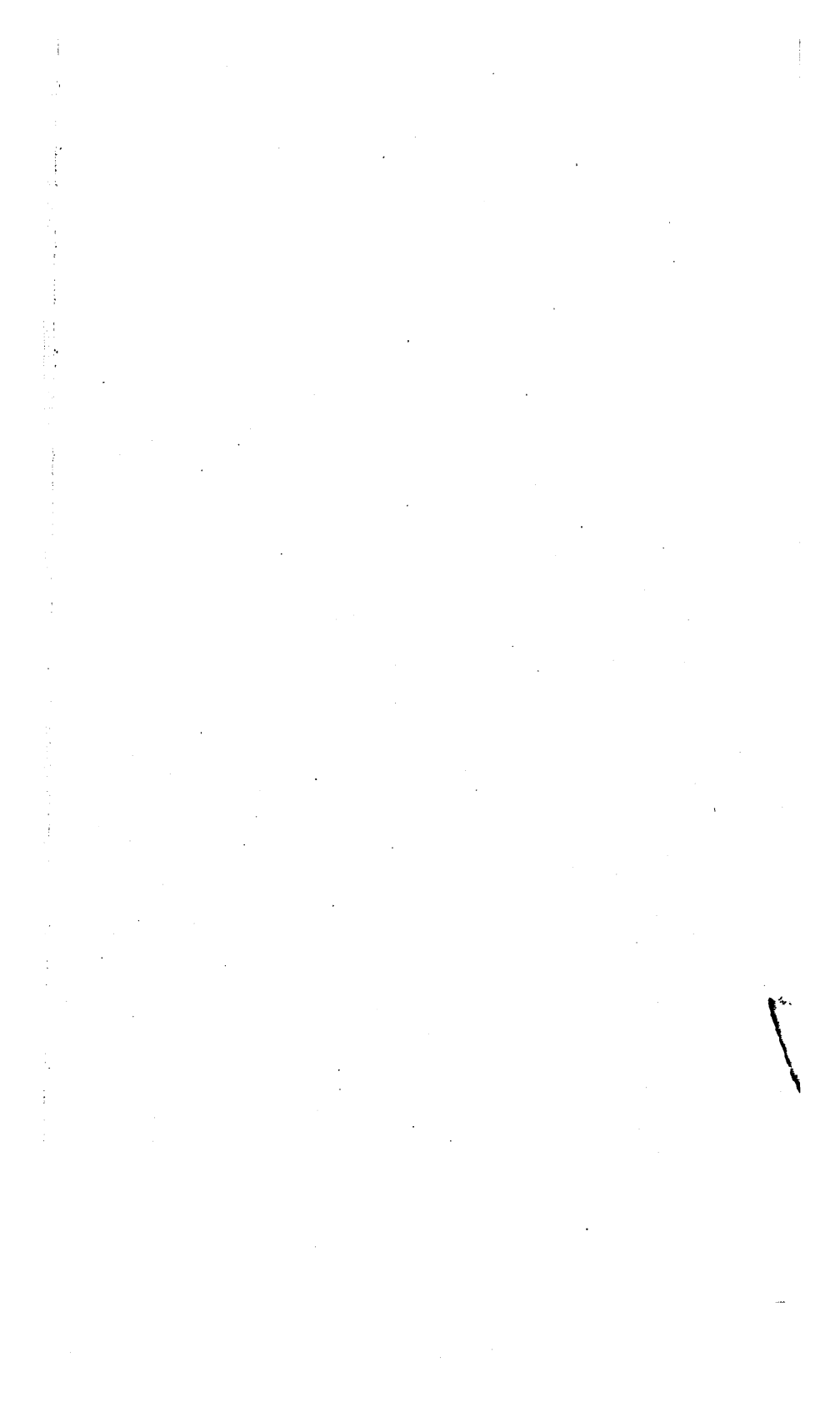


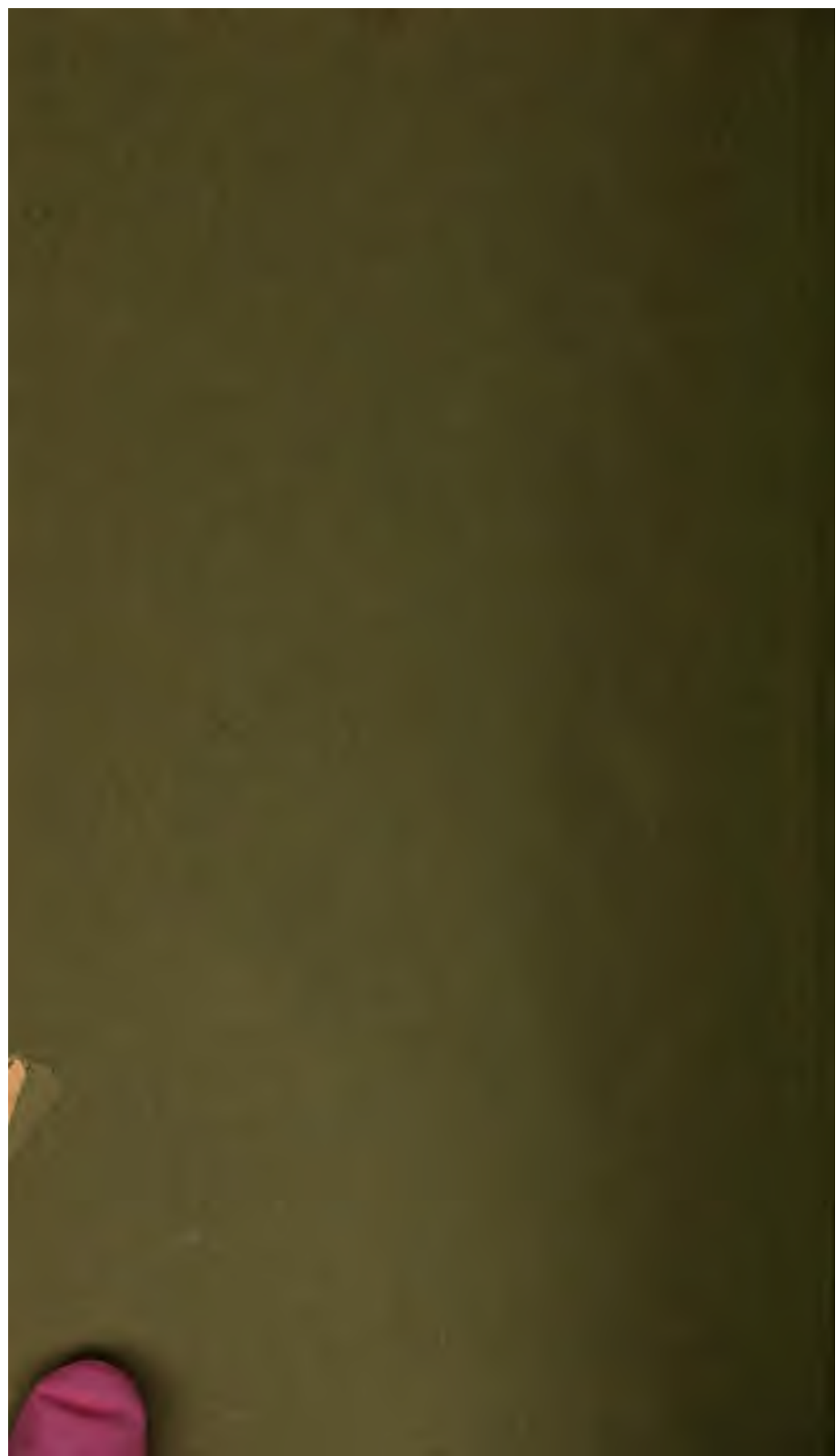
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